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The Christian Century

Published Weekly

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Can Naval Building Bring Prosperity?

An Editorial

Use Democracy or Lose It!

By Harold E. Fey

A Plain Farmer Speaks

By David Stevenson

Dare We Look At Our World?

By Henry H. Crane

15 Cents a Copy • March 9, 1938 • Four Dollars a Year

In This Issue

HAROLD E. FEY

is the executive secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation with headquarters in New York City. He is a frequent contributor to The Christian Century.

HENRY H. CRANE

is the minister of the Elm Park Methodist Episcopal Church in Scranton, Pa. He recently returned from a tour of the world under the auspices of the Board of Foreign Missions of his denomination. The article of Dr. Crane's published in this issue is a transcript of his address before the United Methodist Council which met several weeks ago in Chicago.

DAVID STEVENSON

is a farmer living near Downer's Grove, Ill. In a series of articles based on personal experience Mr. Stevenson will attempt to prove that the problem of high food prices in the city and low payment for production on the farm can be solved without revolutionary social changes. The Christian Century is glad to afford a farmer this chance to speak his mind.

ROGER HAZELTON

is professor of religion at Olivet College, Olivet, Mich.

RICHARD K. MORTON

is minister of the Second Congregational Church, Palmer, Mass.

Coming

"When are we to read more chapters from Professor Steiner's autobiography?" The question reaches the editorial offices in many forms from many readers. Another inimitable sketch by Dr. Edward A. Steiner, "The Pot-mender," will appear soon.

The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

March 9, 1938

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Calendar of Coming Events

Mar. 8-10. Interdenominational Retreat for Ministers, Ohio Northern University, Ada, Ohio.
Mar. 8-10. Conferences, Board of Charities, Norwegian Lutheran Church, Minneapolis.
Mar. 8-10. Disciples Conference on Evangelism, Cincinnati Bible Seminary, Cincinnati.
Mar. 8-10. Southern Mountain Workers' Annual Conference, Knoxville, Tenn.
Mar. 9. Philadelphia Annual Methodist Episcopal Conference, Holy Cross Church, Reading, Pa.
Mar. 12. Pennsylvania Council of Churches, annual meeting, department of evangelism, Central Y.M.C.A., Harrisburg.
Mar. 18-20. Colorado Interdenominational Youth Conference, Colorado Springs.
Mar. 19. Fourth Annual Conference, 1st Congregational Church, Cambridge, Mass.
Mar. 23, 24. United Stewardship Council, Columbus, O.
Mar. 30. Wilmington Methodist Episcopal Annual Conference, Wilmington, Dela.
Mar. 30. Delaware Methodist Episcopal Annual Conference, Philadelphia.
Mar. 30. East German Methodist Episcopal Annual Conference, Schenectady, N. Y.
Apr. 6. Washington Methodist Episcopal Annual Conference, Baltimore, Md.
Apr. 7. Eastern Swedish Methodist Episcopal Annual Conference, Worcester, Mass.
Apr. 17. Easter.
Apr. 18-20. Disciples Ministers' Institute, University Church, Des Moines.
Apr. 19-21. Interdenominational Conference, Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, Raleigh, N. C.
Apr. 20. Central Pennsylvania Methodist Episcopal Annual Conference, Williamsport, Pa.
Apr. 20. Lexington Methodist Episcopal Annual Conference, Cleveland, O.
Apr. 20. New Hampshire Methodist Episcopal Annual Conference, Concord.
Apr. 22-28. National Y.W.C.A. Convention, Columbus, O.
Apr. 25, 26. Ninth Annual State Convention, Pennsylvania Council of Churches, Grace Methodist Church, Harrisburg.
Apr. 27-May 1. Indiana Evangelical Annual Conference, Kendallville.
Apr. 28. Methodist Episcopal Church, South, General Conference, Birmingham, Ala.
Apr. 30-May 3. Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Annual Meeting, Board of Directors, Minneapolis.
Apr. 2. American Friends' Service Committee, John Woolman Hall, Chicago.
Apr. 20. Protestant Episcopal election of coadjutor bishop, Christ Church, Nashville, Tenn.
Apr. 25-27. Pastors' Conference on "The Gospel for This Disordered World," Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa.
Apr. 27. Central West Methodist Episcopal Annual Conference, Springfield, Ill.
Apr. 27. Maine Methodist Episcopal Annual Conference, Bangor.
Apr. 27. North Indiana Methodist Episcopal Annual Conference, Richmond.
Apr. 27. Wyoming Methodist Episcopal Annual Conference, Kingston.
May 3, 4. National fellowship meeting, Disciples of Christ and Churches of Christ, West Side-Central Church of Christ, Detroit, Mich.
May 10-13. All New England Conference of the Rural Church, Keene, N. H.
May 12-16. Southern Baptist Convention, Richmond Va.
May 19. General Assembly, Presbyterian Church in U. S., Meridian, Miss.
May 25. General Assembly, United Presbyterian Church of North America, Cleveland, O.

The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY
Undenominational

VOLUME LV CHICAGO, MARCH 9, 1938 NUMBER 10

EDITORIAL

LENT has fully come and the church has once more set its face toward Calvary. We shall be led to recall again—and again and again during the next few weeks—the ancient story which for Christians symbolizes the whole beauty and tragedy of human life. We shall try again to put the meaning of that story into words. We shall talk about the depth of man's capacity for both good and evil, about the ghastliness of human sin, about the suffering love of God. But as we come nearer to the cross, all such words will stick in our throats, until at last we shall stand awed and silent in the presence of the vast and impenetrable mystery which pervades and surrounds man's life. Then perhaps we shall realize something of the pettiness of our prejudices, the stupidity of our pretensions, the folly of the barriers which we set up between ourselves and others, and the hideous anomaly of our various cruelties—our own and those more frightful cruelties no less our own because we share in them with others. To a church thus aroused Calvary will have become more than a pious memory; it will have become a chastening and redeeming reality.

Turning Toward Calvary

Nashville's 'Call to Righteousness'

LENT is the season for repentance and one cannot repent too much. But the besetting sin of religion is hypocrisy and from that sin the mood of penitence is not exempt. This particular reflection is suggested by a recent news report in the *Nashville Tennessean* describing a "Call to Righteousness," a concentrated nonsectarian campaign of religious talks and services to be held in that city during the two weeks just before Easter. Among the half-dozen leaders of the movement named one notes the names of J. P. W. Brown, vice-president of the Tennessee Electric Power Company and a vigorous opponent of organized labor over many years; C. C. Gilbert, long-time secretary of the Tennessee Manufacturers' Association and as hard-boiled an enemy of every effort to ameliorate the lot of the workers and their women and children as could be found; and Leonard Sisk, also with the Tennessee Electric Power Company and a leader in red-baiting circles. With such men active in promoting it, one is not surprised to find that the program is apparently directed chiefly toward the masses of Nashville's unorganized labor. Mr. Sisk and Mr. Gilbert are to make arrangements for services in one hundred industrial plants in and around the city. It is not hard to predict what the messages of the speakers will be. One suspects that, whatever may be the motives of others, the thing which lies back of these men's concern for Nashville's righteousness is fear of the growing unrest among Nashville's labor. Nashville ministers had best be on their guard.

Stalin Continues His Purge

MORE sickening news from Russia. On March 2 twenty-one additional former leaders of the Soviet Union went on trial for their lives. Among them were Rykoff, former premier; Bukharin, former editor of *Izvestia* and *Pravda* and acknowledged intellectual leader of the original bolsheviks; Grinko, former finance commissar; Chernoff, former agriculture commissar; Rosengoltz, former foreign trade commissar; Zelensky, former head of the cooperatives; Rakovsky, former ambassador to France; Krestinsky, former first assistant to Litvinoff. All these are not only charged with the treasonable commerce with fascist states which sent former victims of the purge to their deaths, but a new accusation is brought against them. It is alleged that they plotted with Trotsky in 1918 to assassinate Lenin and Stalin and set up a new government. In addition, this latest batch of defendants includes three of the most famous doctors in Russia, charged with having murdered the former head of the secret police, the former head of the five year plan, and Maxim Gorky. So that now the purge, having swept through the civil, military and naval branches of the government, the diplomatic service, the economic branches and the press, is extended to take in the medical profession. It must add greatly to the joys of medical attention in the U.S.S.R. for the patient to know that the government accuses the top-ranking members of the medical profession

of readiness to commit murder! After this latest group of prisoners has been executed, Stalin's liquidation of the Lenin regime will be finished. Hardly a single one of Lenin's important colaborers, except Stalin himself, will be left alive within Russia. Officially, the demonstration will have been completed that Lenin's revolution was treason-ridden from top to bottom. Yet there are those who still upbraid the United States and other democratic countries for hesitating to throw in their fortunes with such a state!

Students Will Think Before They Shoot

CAN the young American of army age do anything effective to stop the national drift toward war? Or must he remain quiet until the conscription machine reaches out to pull him into its maw? Countless numbers of young people, now ticketed as cannon fodder for the next war, must be asking those questions these days. It has remained for the Quakers to do something practical toward answering them. The American Friends Service Committee has picked up from the recent Emergency Peace Campaign an idea which is going to make it possible for from one to two hundred college students to go out next summer on a national crusade for peace. Instead of spending their summer vacation loafing, or working at odd jobs, these students—having passed the careful scrutiny of the Quaker organization—will be sent out to lead discussion groups, speak before civic clubs, church gatherings, women's clubs and youth organizations, to arrange plays, pageants and exhibits, to write for the press and to speak over the radio, and to organize peace committees in local communities which will continue to function after the student crusaders have returned to their college work. The one burden of the crusade will be peace. The one end in view will be to keep this nation out of war on foreign soil. To do all this, the students who volunteer will first be given intensive training for two weeks in one of the regional institutes of international relations conducted by the Quakers. They will live throughout the summer on an allowance of five dollars a week for all expenses. And they will each contribute $100 for the privilege of taking part in the campaign. We predict that the American Friends Service Committee, which has its offices at 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia, will be swamped with applications from students who mean to think before they fight and wish to help the nation to do likewise.

Senate Committee Approves Bill To End Block-Booking

HOLLYWOOD'S monopolistic grip on the motion picture industry is threatened by the United States Senate. The producer moguls of the California film capital know it, and the Hays office is wheeling into action on all fronts. For almost without warning the Senate committee on interstate commerce has reported favorably the Neely bill (S. 153) with the "recommendation that the bill do pass." The Neely bill would abolish the block-booking and blind-selling of films. It would restore to the exhibitor power to select the pictures to be shown in his theater. It would thus give the local community a real chance to make its wishes regarding movie fare felt and respected. Of course, it's a long way from a favorable committee report to actual enactment of such a law as Senator Neely has sponsored. The Hays office is counting on this to kill the Neely bill. But if there is sufficient public support the bill can be passed by the Senate, in which case a mighty impetus will be given to its counterpart in the House, the Pettengill bill (H.R. 1669). Meanwhile, an editorial comment in *Harrison's Reports,* weekly organ of the local exhibitors, is to the point. Speaking of the slump currently reported from the California studios, this forthright weekly says: "The way out of this Hollywood mess is the passage of the Neely-Pettengill bill, because the outlawing of block-booking as well as of blind-selling will compel the producers to put every director, every star and every writer on his own merits. The raising of $25,000 directors to the $100,000 class, and of $500 a week players to the $2,000 and even $3,000 class; the permitting of ordinary writers to spend weeks at Palm Springs and other resorts in an effort to get some inspiration to write the story that had been assigned to them, is made possible only because pictures are sold, not on merit, but on quantity, the result of the prevailing block-booking system. When the time comes for pictures to be sold on merit, it will not be necessary for the studio heads to declare a production holiday in order to find means by which production costs can be lowered."

Hitler Would Destroy Nations To Build a Racial Empire

WHEN Hitler in his speech of February 20 asserted, and in his intrusion into Austria illustrated, his claim that all persons of the German race must be united in the bonds of National Socialism with himself as their leader, he made still more clear the already evident implications of nazi philosophy. It has often been said that nazism, like fascism, represents an apotheosis of nationalism. So it does, in the sense of making the political power of the state supreme in every phase of life. But nazism goes beyond nationalism, and may ultimately destroy or remold it, by making the tie of race superior to that of political loyalty. Thus it regards the Jews as an alien element in Germany although they are members of the German nation, and it regards the German minorities in Austria and Czechoslovakia as belonging to that greater Germany of blood-and-soil although they are citizens of other nations. The racial solidarity of the Germans is, of course, a fiction, as every competent ethnologist knows, though no scientist in Germany dares to say so. But grant that it is true. What would happen to American nationality if the nazi theory of the state were applied? Naturally it would dissolve at once into its racial constituents. There are forty million persons in the United States who are of foreign birth or are the children of foreign-born parents. What will happen when Hitler extends the wing of nazidom to cover the Germans among these millions? The first answer, of course, is that most of them will refuse to be covered. Most, but by no means all. The German-American *Bund* is doing its best to organize the nazi-minded Germans of America into an effective fighting force. Recent word has gone out from Berlin that Hitler

has ordered the *Bund* to eliminate all German citizens and to admit no more. But that is of no importance. The officers of the *Bund* say that it never had any German citizens in its membership. German citizens resident in the United States have a right to be loyal to the National Socialist government. What promises trouble is that government's claim upon the loyalty of American citizens of German origin. There can be no room for any doctrine of double nationality and allegiance in this country.

Niemöller Trial Nears End

NEWS of the Niemöller trial has been only slowly and partially filtering through the censorship, but such items as have leaked out are significant. For one thing, all charges of treason and of political activities against the government have been dropped. As it now stands, the indictment includes only accusations of "speaking disparagingly of leading personages" and "positive resistance against orders not to read from the pulpit names of persons canceling their church membership." Reversing earlier rulings the court has permitted the introduction of such witnesses and evidence as the defendant wished to introduce. In consequence of this, Niemöller's three attorneys who withdrew in token of their disapproval of the procedure in the earlier stages of the trial, have returned to the case. At the time of this writing a verdict is hourly awaited. Sympathizers with the imprisoned pastor are venturing to hope that, if he is found guilty under these reduced charges, he will receive a sentence of short imprisonment and will be deemed to have served it while awaiting trial. Whatever may be the outcome of this trial, it will prove nothing about the really important questions which underlie it. Dr. Niemöller has been upholding the ideal of a church free to administer its own internal affairs, to have a free pulpit, and to maintain a Christian view of life, in opposition to the determined effort of the state to control the church for its own purposes, to censor the utterances of ministers, and to promulgate a pagan philosophy unchecked by criticism from the church. Those are the real issues. They will not be decided by any verdict that may be rendered on charges of "speaking disparagingly," which may mean almost anything, or of resisting certain orders, which he probably did resist with entire justification.

German Diplomat Renounces National Socialism

IT IS PROBABLE that Dr. Ernst Wilhelm Meyer, who has resigned his post as first secretary of the German embassy at Washington after sixteen years of continuous diplomatic service for his country, does not expect to return home soon. At a dinner in New York City sponsored by the Federal Council of Churches and the Universal Christian Council, he stated the reasons for his resignation. In brief: "National Socialism is the Anti-Christ setting up an anti-Christian gospel in all spheres of life—national, international, economic, educational. The crisis to civilization which it brings begins in Germany, but threatens to sweep the whole world. If Germany be finally overcome by it, the religion and ethics which have been the glory of the Western world will have received a death blow." In the present struggle between church and state in Germany "two opposed world philosophies confront each other." Unlike the communists, the totalitarian nazis do not want to destroy the church but to keep it "as a slave to their purposes and to prostitute Christianity to National Socialism." Dr. Meyer is convinced that the blame for the paganizing policy of his government cannot be shifted from the shoulders of Hitler to those of Rosenberg. Hitler has never denied any assertion or checked any activity of his paganizing *kultur* leader. "The real power behind the whole anti-Christian principles and practices of National Socialism is Hitler himself." From this estimate of the character of the regime it follows, in Dr. Meyer's judgment, that it is the plain duty of a German who is also a Christian to renounce "that remarkable hash of pantheism, paganism and magic called the religion of 'blood and soil' —Hitler being the blood and Rosenberg the soil." Since one so highly placed and with a career to be sacrificed has made this bold pronouncement of his convictions, one may hopefully imagine that there are many in Germany, so situated that life as well as living would be the forfeit for such frankness, who inwardly have not bowed the knee to Baal.

Europe Picks Up The Pieces

FOR the past week the leaders of European countries outside the fascist bloc have been behaving much like dwellers on the plains whose town has been struck by a cyclone. Dusting themselves off after the passing of the latest fascist-inspired storm, these gentlemen have turned to estimating the extent of the damage and the prospects of salvage. In Austria, for example, Chancellor Schuschnigg has assured the Diet that, although the nation will hereafter base its policy on the fact that it is a German state, "Austria must remain Austrian." Wild cheering greeted this affirmation of independence, which the chancellor quickly followed up by sending troops to end brown shirt demonstrations in the nazi-dominated province of Styria. But the contrast between Schuschnigg's words and his political position is too sharp to give his protestations much importance. In England, Prime Minister Chamberlain, after winning a vote of confidence over the resignation of Mr. Eden, and scoring the impotence of the league, made his opening moves in negotiating with Mussolini. In France, the cabinet tried to prove how well it had survived the shock of Britain's desertion by appropriating 12,000,000,000 francs for aircraft and warships, promising Czechoslovakia support and proclaiming loyalty to the league. But at the end of the week it was quietly admitted that France, too, would soon open direct negotiations with Mussolini. In Czechoslovakia, the Benes government proclaimed its confidence in the efficacy of its French and Russian alliances. Nevertheless, it announced that if those alliances failed, the Czechs were prepared to fight alone. In Spain, Premier Negrin, recognizing that Mr. Chamberlain's new policy is about to leave his government without outside support, broadcast a general defiance, calling upon the Spanish people to prepare to supply the war materials

required to stand off Franco. Meanwhile, Hitler and Mussolini said nothing. For the time being, they didn't need to say anything. They already dominated the scene.

Can Naval Building Bring Prosperity?

THE President's demand for a supernavy still seems headed toward realization. If there is widespread public opposition to huge expenditures for more fighting ships, that opposition has so far failed to register in Washington. Before this editorial can reach our readers, it is likely that the new Vinson bill, authorizing the President's supernavy building program, will have been favorably reported to the House. It may even have been rushed through that body. The chances of effective opposition, either there or in the Senate, do not look bright.

As the hearings on the bill have drawn to a close, three matters of importance have come to light. First, it has become known that there is considerable reason to question the value of battleships in modern naval warfare. Although the navy department has refused the request of the House naval affairs committee for access to the results of the fleet maneuvers held off San Francisco two years ago, it is widely rumored in Washington that the suppressed report held that most of the battleships in the naval games had been theoretically sunk by airplanes. Two congressmen have already given currency to this rumor before the naval committee. The President, plainly alarmed as to the effect which such charges might have on the proposal to build three more such ships at $80,000,000 each, went out of his way to assure the press of his belief in the unimpaired value of battleships. He failed, however, to back this personal expression of opinion with quotations from the disputed naval reports.

A second bit of testimony which came out at the later hearings showed that, although this country has been making an uproar over the alleged intention of Japan to build 43,000-ton battleships, the battleships which the United States is now building will be as large or larger! It is curious how little attention the daily press has given to this revelation. It was contained in a statement made to the committee on February 21 by Rear Admiral William G. DuBose, chief of the naval bureau of construction and repair. Admiral DuBose admitted that the ships now building at the Philadelphia and New York navy yards are bigger than the ships scrapped in 1922 under the provisions of the Washington treaty. But those ships, the committee protested, were listed at 43,200 tons, and the ones now building are listed at 35,000 tons. The apparent discrepancy, the admiral explained, is due to differences in figuring the weight. The ships scrapped in 1922 were figured when fully loaded; the new ships are figured without fuel, supplies or stores of any kind. The new ships dimensionally are considerably larger than would have been the 43,200-ton battleships, had they been completed. Naval tonnage, it is thus demonstrated, can be made to appear what the naval authorities want it to appear, and there is nothing which the Japanese are charged with planning that the United States naval builders are not already doing.

The third important development in the closing phases of the hearings was admission by the navy department that the original estimate of $800,000,000 would not cover the cost of Mr. Roosevelt's desired additions to the navy. The estimated cost with which the pending program was introduced to the public was thus shown to have been a blind. Before the admirals had finished testifying they had admitted that, including aircraft, the authorizations in the new Vinson bill would cost at least $1,200,000,000. At the same time, discovery that bids on the proposed merchant marine auxiliaries had been almost three times as high as the preliminary estimates of the shipping board, indicated that this supernavy would cost still more than the admirals are now willing to admit. Taxpayers would be lucky if they got out for less than two billion.

Yet the supernavy building program, despite these and other disclosures, seems likely to pass. Why? It is hard to tell. The usual pressure on members of Congress to prove their patriotism by voting for army and navy appropriations is not operating much in this instance, for it is admitted by the admirals that the present navy is large enough to supply "adequate defense" for the defensive territory of the United States. (This is the territory lying within a line drawn from the Aleutians through Hawaii to the Panama Canal, across the Caribbean and up the Atlantic coast to the tip of Maine. This defensive territory has arbitrarily been extended this year by the navy to take in Samoa, thus pushing the defensive line more than two thousand miles westward in the Pacific and bringing it adjacent to the Japanese Marshall islands. Even this new Samoa sector the admirals believe the navy now ready to defend.) In fact, to justify the proposed naval building on the ground of defense needs, the navy and Mr. Roosevelt have had to conjure up a possible attack by Germany or Italy, or both, on Brazil or Argentina at a time when the United States fleet was already engaged with Japan in the Pacific. As though Hitler and Mussolini did not need all their men and strength in Europe!

It is not difficult to discover why the navy wants the new building program. Any navy always wants more ships. That goes without saying. But in the case of the United States navy a condition has been allowed to develop under which, without more ships, the professional careers of more than half of the graduates of Annapolis come to an end after only fifteen years in the service. This is not because of professional incompetence, but because the navy is not large enough to allow more than 36 per cent of those commissioned as ensigns to advance beyond the grade of lieutenant. Sixty-four per cent of Annapolis graduates are forced out, their professional careers blasted, at the age of 38 or younger! It is an appalling and brutal sacrifice of trained officers. But why has no one suggested reducing the size of Annapolis, so that the academy will not continue to graduate hundreds of unneeded officers? Annapolis is almost twice as large, in student enrolment, as West Point. Why should not appointments by congressmen and senators to the naval academy be limited to a number equal to their appointments of army cadets? Surely that would be a cheaper and more sensible way of dealing with the prob-

lem of surplus officers than building a superfleet to absorb the surplusage!

The true nature of the drive behind the supernavy program seems to be economic. The country is in the midst of a bad depression. It is no longer possible to talk about a "recession"—a minor, passing affair. This is a full-fledged depression, and no one has any more idea when it is going to end than in the days when Mr. Hoover was hopefully peeking around every corner. The administration, having proclaimed economic salvation for the nation through its New Deal, is in a hole. The President is in a quandary. He is calling in counselors, just as Mr. Hoover did eight years ago, but he has nothing to offer in the way of confident economic leadership. All the members of the House and thirty-two members of the Senate must come up for reelection next fall, and none of them is happy about the prospect of running for office in the midst of a depression. Business, also, is growing desperate.

This is really what's behind the administration's determination to push a vast naval building program through Congress. Prof. James H. Rogers, Yale economist, made this motivation clear when he told the recent Women's Conference on National Defense, held in Washington, of the rivers of prosperity which would pour over the land as soon as the government began to spend lavishly for new battleships. Professor Rogers has been one of the inside group of economic advisers to the New Deal. This is why the heavy industries, particularly steel, are supporting the supernavy plan. *Newsweek* discloses that navy department procurement agents are already at the principal steel mills, placing tentative orders to be confirmed as soon as the naval building bill has passed Congress. And throughout the country there seems to be a feeling that the spending of billions on battleships would prove just the shot in the arm which American industry needs, to start the wheels of the economic machine turning again at full speed and to wipe out this nightmare of unemployment.

Now there can be no denying that government spending for armaments will stimulate business, temporarily. As has been said in these columns before, the spending of millions for anything, no matter what, so long as it is the product of labor, will stimulate business for the moment. But the idea that the President's supernavy building program is a new white rabbit, picked from the presidential hat as the magical solution of the nation's economic difficulties, is poppycock. The naval building program will not bring back prosperity. It will not end, or even significantly reduce, unemployment. Why?

Well, in the first place, because a naval building program of any sort takes years to carry out. If the Vinson authorization bill were passed next month, and if Congress then proceeded to appropriate the full two billions for construction, it would be at least 1940 before the merest trickle of this sum began to reach the country. It took seventeen months simply to draw the plans for the last batch of cruisers! How long will it take to complete the plans for the new battleships—ships so different in design from their predecessors that they will cost more than 300 per cent more than the last battleships built in this country? At the very least, five years must elapse before this program could be carried out. If new shipyards are not constructed, completion might require twice that length of time. Large as the total amount is, spreading it out in this way over from five to ten years would reduce its power as an economic stimulant to a minimum.

Moreover, it must always be borne in mind that battleship building provides a minimum of direct employment. That fact came out clearly three years ago when Secretary Ickes was testifying before the Senate munitions committee. Mr. Ickes had been directed by the President to spend $238,000,000 of PWA funds on naval building as a means of creating employment. Figures submitted by the A. F. of L. showed that in the yards where these PWA millions were spent employment rose only from 30,224 on June 30, 1933, to 37,294 on December 31, 1934. And Mr. Ickes, while careful not to let his testimony appear to be a criticism of his superior, testified that many other lines of activity had produced more employment than shipbuilding, and done so more quickly. Battleship building is a specialized job. By its very nature, it holds employment to a restricted group.

A third factor which must be kept in mind in measuring the economic effects of a naval building program is the absence of any constructive value in such a program. Battleships are not consumers' goods. The only thing which they contribute to the national economic picture is an addition to the staggering load of debt and taxes which our citizens are already carrying. Outlays on useless works, whatever their nature, diminish the national wealth, and it is hard to conceive a more "useless" expenditure, considered strictly as an economic unit, than a battleship. The overwhelming majority of the fighting ships in the world's navies, as navies are used in these days, go to their final scrapheap without ever being engaged in battle. This is particularly true of battleships. These have become far too costly to be risked, as Jellicoe demonstrated at Jutland. The monster guns used on modern battleships have a total life of only 150 shots. Pounding sand in a rat-hole becomes a dignified economic operation when compared with the idea of increasing national wealth by building warships.

Finally, it must not be forgotten that every armament race brings its inevitable economic nemesis. It is one thing to get into an armament race—to set steel plants going night and day, to rush shipways into being at some new Hog Island, to provide employment. But it is a far more difficult thing to get out of such a race. What becomes of the expanded plant after the fever is over? Where do the workers go whose jobs have depended on keeping the armament frenzy at its height? Those are the questions which plague the nations of Europe today. It is because there may be no answers, short of internal uprisings and revolution, that the world's peace is most in danger from what may happen in the rearming nations four or five years hence. Every such economic shot in the arm brings its own morning after. Congressmen who vote a supernavy building program with the hope that it may lessen the economic strain in their home districts by next election day need to be reminded of the economic retribution which will befall later on.

The idea of seeking prosperity by building machines to destroy the goods of others and finally to be themselves destroyed is economic insanity. If Congress votes the Presi-

dent's supernavy with the hope of solving the nation's business problems, it will prove that in a world gone insane the United States has succumbed to the general madness.

The Tyranny of Semantics

THE CYNIC who said—and it must be centuries since it was first said—that words are devices for the concealment of thought was only half right, even for a cynic. He might have added that they serve also for the prevention of thought. And yet there are no other instruments, or none of comparable range and effectiveness, with which to think and to convey ideas. In a recent book Mr. Stuart Chase has set up some useful guideposts and warning signs on the road that writers and readers alike must travel when they use words.*

If it were necessary to prove anything so obvious as that thinking is a difficult business, beset by snares and pitfalls not to be avoided without the utmost care, convincing evidences would be furnished by the wide diversity of opinions upon almost every conceivable topic. In relatively few fields do men have knowledge. For the most part they have opinions, to which they adhere with a tenacity unshaken by the disagreement of equally intelligent persons who hold opposite opinions.

To those who wish to consider man as a rational creature with a capacity for distinguishing between truth and error, this is very disconcerting. Those who insist that the right of private judgment is inviolable are embarrassed by the contradictory conclusions at which private judgment arrives when it is given free range. Since the democratic way of life and the exercise of private judgment are inseparable, democracy itself loses prestige by reason of the jangling voices of popular opinion.

But when one reflects that every undemocratic way of life achieves the appearance of unanimity only by erecting one private opinion into a public oracle and suppressing variant opinions, but without giving to the dominant opinion any superiority of rational certainty to correspond to its superiority of status and authority, one is appalled by the possibility that the one dominant opinion may be wrong. Surely it is better, one reflects, to have a hundred freely expressed opinions of which some are probably right, than to have only one opinion and that one probably wrong. The latter arrangement may produce a more ordered society, at least until revolution supplants the one authoritative opinion by another one, but the former is more favorable to the discovery of truth. But both conditions show how unfortunate it is that men should not be able to think their way to a common understanding of matters which lie within the area of their common interest. Anyone who can remedy that condition by teaching us how to think is a public benefactor.

Mr. Stuart Chase makes a genuine contribution to that good cause. There is in his discussion so much of sound sense and so much cogent criticism of what passes for thought but actually is nothing more than shadow-boxing with prejudices and emotions, that gratitude must first be expressed for his warnings against the more dangerous detours from straight thinking before one remarks that the strict application of his principles would come near to inhibiting the whole thinking process. It is indeed important that men learn to avoid the traps that language lays for them when they attempt to think. But it is no less important that they shall not be intimidated to such a point that they shall abandon the effort.

Leaning heavily on the Polish mathematician Korzybski, who wrote *Science and Sanity,* and on C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards, who wrote *The Meaning of Meaning,* Mr. Chase finds that language lures us into the commission of two cardinal sins against clear thinking: first, the identification of words with things; second, the misuse of abstract and general terms.

The first of these errors may be as widely spread and as deeply rooted as Mr. Chase says it is, yet the indictment seems to go somewhat beyond the facts. Words do, beyond a doubt, become surrounded by clouds of emotional connotation through which it is difficult to perceive the objects for which they stand. The name of a sacred thing becomes sacred. The name of JHVH was so sacred that it could not be spoken. The names of loved things or persons are loved, and the names of hated things are hated. But this seldom if ever reaches the point of substituting the word for the thing, though this charge is many times reiterated. It is scarcely necessary to warn the reader that he cannot drink the word "coffee" or eat the word "pie." Those who come nearest to doing it perhaps are persons who, like authors and editors, live by words, though not by the direct consumption of their product. Less lucky scribblers, whose written words accumulate unsold and unpublished, know well enough the unnutritious character of words, even without studying the useful science of semantics.

But granting, or insisting if necessary, that words are not things, it is of basic importance that he who uses a word should know what thing it stands for. "Seek the referent," is the golden text of this lesson. Even if one does not mistake the word for the object, fallacy creeps in when a word comes to stand for an ill defined object, or for a loose generalization, or for an abstraction that is not recognized as one, or for an object or concept blurred or obscured by an emotional coloration or an established reaction pattern that has become inseparable from the word. Here is a matter in which we are all sinners in various degrees. Having decided that communism—or fascism—is a hideous monster ready to devour civilization, we have a convenient label by which to damn any other program that seems objectionable. If it is on the radical side, it becomes "communism"; if it leans toward centralization of authority, it is "fascism." From that point on, it is unnecessary, if not impossible, to think about the policy in question as an objective fact with its own characteristics, because a word with vague meaning has thrown a dense fog around the object.

Large, loose words, such as "nature," "capitalism," "workers," "Americanism," "business," "public opinion," "technological unemployment" and "immutable economic laws" invite loose thinking and inconclusive argument because they do not mean anything in particular, or because

**The Tyranny of Words.* By Stuart Chase. Harcourt, Brace & Company, $2.50.

the person who uses them does not know what they mean, or because they do not have the same meaning for the speaker and the hearer. They are stirring symbols, but there is no clarity or agreement as to what they symbolize. They need to be broken down into particulars before the meaning that lies behind them can emerge with clear outlines. Mr. Chase performs his best service in warning us against words that are divorced from definite meanings and in exhorting us to get back to facts and "seek the referent."

He is not the first to show that the use of words without a clear and accepted meaning is fatal to sound thought and rational argument leading to valid conclusions; nor were the eminent authors of the treatises on "semantics," or the science of meaning, the pioneers in this field. Several years ago Professor Wieman pointed out the important distinction between the "evocative use of words," to elicit an emotion or stir the auditor to action, and the "cognitive" use to convey knowledge. And centuries earlier John Locke devoted a large section of his *Essay on the Human Understanding* to exposing, and attempting to correct, the folly of using words without clear meanings. He was especially severe toward philosophers and theologians who are, in this respect, sinners above other men. He charged them with using words "no otherwise than parrots do"—which is a simpler and more intelligible way of saying what Mr. Chase says when he accuses them, and us all in some degree, of "psittacism."

How difficult it is to avoid these various faults and to keep the word close to the clearly defined object which it is used to represent, is well illustrated by the fact that Mr. Chase calls his book *The Tyranny of Words*. "Tyranny!" A word as vague and loose in meaning, as completely detached from a specific "referent," and as heavily freighted with emotional connotations as "class struggle" or "militarist" or any of his other horrible examples.

And yet, it would be unfair to blame Mr. Chase for this use of a word at which a critic, using his own principles, might scoff. For if man is to engage in rational thought and discourse he must use words that do not denote specific things. The catch in this rather too pretentious "science of semantics" is that it furnishes a gag with which to stop the mouth of anyone who would speak of matters other than the particular *things* which are present to the senses. It may be used as a club for the intimidation of thought, as well as a guidepost to keep it on the road.

If man's interests were confined to the immediate and the obvious, to his bodily sensations and the physical objects which give rise to them, language might be a very simple thing, every word having its precise referent and misunderstanding being practically impossible—assuming, of course, that man with those limitations would ever develop language at all. The probability is that he would never feel the need of words, and so would never have them. But as the range of man's interests expands, and as his sense of the meaning of life becomes even more acute than his sense of the meaning of words, language necessarily becomes more intricate, and less unmistakable. There must be reasoning if there is to be understanding, and with the possibility of understanding comes the possibility of misunderstanding.

The process of reasoning about the higher values and the wider reaches of experience, and about the realities which may be conceived as lying beyond the scope of sensory experience, is beset by the risks of error, but it is worth the risk. The danger may be minimized by attention to such wise warnings as those which are afforded by Mr. Chase and the other exponents of semantics, who caution us to consider always the meaning of words, and even the "meaning of meaning." But when their precepts would confine us to the contemplation of particulars and estop us from considering the meaning of life as a whole, then, as men determined to think as clearly as we can but also to think about some matters that cannot be defined with perfect clarity, we must declare our independence of their tyranny of semantics.

When Is It Propaganda?

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Has ever a word had so swift a fall from the ranks of respectability as this one which has become the universal sneer wherever men gather in discussion? I refer, of course, to the word "propaganda."

We are all familiar with the way in which words change their meanings under the "dull attrition of the years." One reason—and perhaps the principal reason—why scholars like Dr. Goodspeed, Dr. Moffatt and their colaborers feel it necessary to translate the Bible into modern speech is because so much Elizabethan language carries a vague, or even perverted, meaning to our twentieth century ears. Oh, to be sure, new manuscripts have been discovered, and the men who do the translating today have a much better idea as to what the original Hebrew and Greek actually was than had the men who made the King James version. But when I rush into my bookseller's, demanding a copy of the latest new translation, the thing that I am mainly hoping for is not new light on the ancient tongues but new light on passages which, in the familiar Elizabethan, are well-nigh unintelligible.

Certain words, however, seem not so much to change as to go to the bad. Dryden writes ecstatically of "clouds of savory stench." To the poet, it is plain, stench meant simply a smell, an odor and nothing more. But, as Professor Ernest C. Colwell has suggested, there seems to be something about the very idea of odor which irresistibly propels such a word into disreputable company. Linguistic philosophers, if there are such, may find in such a word's fate material for rumination on the habits of man and his ways of thinking.

But did ever a word go to the bad so swiftly as "propaganda"? It must be counted, I fear, among the war casualties. There still stands in Rome, in all honor, the College of the Propaganda. Perhaps its continued presence there is new proof of an ancient church's claim to be *semper idem*. But when Dr. Göbbels preens himself in the honorific title of "Minister of Propaganda and Enlightenment," you and I set that down as simply new evidence of the German official's traditional inability to gauge the effect of his words on other men's minds.

Mr. Roosevelt has made suggestions for many far-reach-

ing changes in governmental machinery. There is a bill now before Congress, I believe, which will, if enacted, produce a general shake-up in the departments and bureaus at Washington. Hundreds of government servants are likely to be dressed out with new titles. But not even Mr. Roosevelt, for all his venturesome spirit, would dare propose a ministry of propaganda. Neither would Mr. Chamberlain. (Yet there must be times when both men feel that they could make good use of such a minister.)

We all despise propaganda. We all proclaim our determination to give the propagandist a wide berth. We all profess our belief that much of the evil will be exorcised from our distracted world when propaganda has been done away.

But our trouble seems to lie in knowing propaganda when we meet it.

Of course, you would not stoop to propaganda, even though I remember hearing you once refer to your honored publication as a "journal of opinion." And I would never soil myself with the arts of the propagandist, even though I am so constantly instructing my neighbors in the way of truth and light. But that fellow Jones, with his passionate advocacy of vegetarianism—he's nothing but a propagandist, and hence a community menace. The sooner we can do away with Jones, the better for us all.

But how is my neighbor—sadly untutored fellow that he is—to tell the difference between Quintus, the dispenser of wisdom, and Jones, the propagandist?

Ah, there's the rub.

I am not sure that I can always tell propaganda, using the word now in the derogatory sense in which you and I and all the rest of us have come habitually to use it. But I believe that I have discovered a way of telling infallibly when one kind of propaganda is being proffered me. Whenever some statement, some affirmation, is flung down in front of me with the implication that its truth is beyond questioning, then I know there's propaganda about.

Propaganda, I find, is generally that which is held to be too true to be questioned.

You don't think much of my definition? Nevertheless, I suspect that Herr Göbbels would approve it. At least, that's the definition by which he seems to guide his work.

Forever skeptically yours,
QUINTUS QUIZ.

VERSE

The Balance

I ATE the bread of beauty,
I drank the wine of song,
And I was well fed
And my body grew strong.

But what of my neighbor
In a pit all day long,
Or the lad in the mill
Who hears no glad song?

Have I any merit
Which gives wine and bread
To me when my neighbor
Is starving instead?

MARGARET MILLER PETTENGILL.

The King Eternal

"They perish all but He remains" (Omar Khayyam)

IN arrogance and vanity
Kings sculpture regal words and creeds
On granite, that posterity
May marvel at their mighty deeds
Of war and conquest; time and rust
Grind these memorials to dust.

Only one King came scorning power,
Walked with the humble of the land
And served mankind his willing hour:
And he wrote only on the sand!

JOHN RICHARD MORELAND.

Disgruntled

LIFE has defrauded us!" sometimes we hear
The beaten mourn, and know their plaint sincere.
Yet oftener this the truth: that in the strife
They gave too little, and defrauded life.

STANTON A. COBLENTZ.

Souvenir of Living

THIS is the souvenir of living:
To watch the pine
Become a bristling couch for snow
And still with quiet heart to know
The multiple design
Of summer never fails,
To see the silver rigging of the beech
In the hostile harbor of a winter sky
And yet to hear the whispered speech
Of April sails
Unfurling.
This is the souvenir of living:
To know that life prevails
And even grief,
Its time of wintering past,
From hoarded flowering will stir to leaf
At last.

HELEN DANFORTH PRUDDEN.

Nostalgia

LONELY little wisps of fog
That wander on the land
Are restless souls of seafolk
Homesick for the sand.

HELEN MILLER LEHMAN.

Use Democracy or Lose It!

By Harold E. Fey

ALTHOUGH no one in authority will admit it, the chief business of our government today lies in preparing for war and dictatorship. People long familiar with the amiable pace of the Washington merry-go-round are amazed at its sudden acceleration in recent weeks. Today it seems much more like a dervish-dance toward armed conflict. Beginning with the nullification of the neutrality law, which was acknowledged in the President's Chicago speech early in October, the mad gyrations reached their full tempo at the time of the *Panay* incident, which was handled according to the best traditions of the international dueling code. Since then the administration has throttled discussion of the war referendum, inaugurated a huge building program for naval auxiliaries, proposed a supernavy based on the Vinson sky-is-the-limit policy, initiated "educational orders" to bribe industrialists with a little foretaste of war business, rejected the Maverick-King proposals calling for a disarmament conference and turned a cold shoulder to the constructive Van Zeeland report urging world economic conference instead of world war. To cap the climax, the administration has now thrown its support behind the Sheppard-Hill (now Sheppard-May) industrial mobilization bill (H.R. 9604) providing for universal wartime conscription of a character known only to totalitarian states.

Threat of Dictatorship

Dictatorship is a word which does not have a sweet sound to Americans. Faint echoes of a far-away revolutionary war still carry to sensitive ears reminders of the day when this free people emphatically said goodbye to all that. Accordingly, today the war department says nothing about the real provisions of the new bill but instead talks soothingly of "industrial mobilization," while the American Legion, still smarting from the injustice of 1918 wages of $1.25 a day for trench fighters and $10 a day for stay-at-homes, attempts to mislead veterans as to what is afoot by declaring that it is supporting this bill as a means of "taking the profits out of war." But the Sheppard-May bill is neither of these. It is dictatorship—bald, ugly, sinister. Thought to have been buried long ago among the fantastic improbabilities of "It Can't Happen Here," it has suddenly come to life as a result of the swift shift in recent weeks away from the policy of the Good Neighbor. Persistent rumors say that it now has open administration support because of an agreement made between the legion and the administration when the Ludlow resolution threatened to extend democracy by permitting the people to make the vital choice between war and peace. In exchange for legion help in choking off discussion of that measure, the White House is said to have promised to expedite this proposal which purports to "prevent profiteering in time of war and equalize the burdens of war and thus provide for the national defense and promote peace." The new bill was favorably reported out of the House military affairs committee on February 25.

Careful study of the Sheppard-May bill shows that it does none of the things claimed for it by its principal supporter, the American Legion. It does not "equalize the burdens of war." It does not "take the profits out of war." But it does provide for an absolute dictatorship surpassing that of Hitler or Mussolini.

All Power to the President!

The original bill carried the names of Senator Sheppard and Representative Hill, chairmen of the military affairs committees of the upper and lower houses of Congress. It applied either in time of war or in emergencies created by the immanence of war. It gave the President power to fix prices and compensation for services. This would automatically freeze wages. In his "sole discretion" the President could also adjust prices and compensations in any way he saw fit. He was authorized to draft into the military service "such members of the unorganized militia between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-one as he may deem necessary." In the same section the bill provided that the President might also extend government control over "material resources, industrial organizations and public services." Another provision required the registration of all persons engaged in industrial and manufacturing management and control, who would then "be brought into the service of the government as civilians for the duration of the war." The fifth section gave the President absolute power over all business by setting up a government licensing system.

The President was then authorized to determine the order or priority in which orders would be filled, transportation provided or power supplied. After giving the President authority to set up the agencies to carry out the above measure, the bill set maximum penalties of $100,000 fine or a year in jail or both for violation of the act or "orders, rules or regulations made by the President" under the act. The last section attempted to eliminate profiteering by imposing a tax of 95 per cent on all income above the previous three-year average, with adjustments for capital expenditure for war purposes.

Labor Conscripted

Weeks of turbulent discussion in the House military affairs committee have produced a bill which differs very slightly from this original Sheppard-Hill draft. The provision permitting it to be applied in "emergencies" has been stricken out. The conscription of man power has been restored to the bill after bitter debate, although it was deleted for a time. The wage fixing provisions, also dropped for a while, have been returned with the restoration of presidential price fixing for "services" as well as for commodities. The press, specifically exempted from the dangerous licensing provisions, is still threatened with effective censorship by the application of the priorities provisions to commodities, transportation and power. A recalcitrant newspaper may not have to worry about losing its govern-

ment license to continue, but it can hardly meet deadlines without newsprint paper, without means of transport or lacking power to drive its presses. The war profits section has been reworded so that its sole remnant is a call to the secretary of the treasury to be prepared to recommend a war taxation bill to be introduced on the first day of the next session of Congress. A new provision granting the President full control of the radio has been added.

Unions Controlled by Government

Chairman May of the military affairs committee is reported by members of the committee as "intensely angry" at "labor and pacifist" opponents of the bill. The Committee for Industrial Organization is openly against it, and some unions are throwing every resource into bringing about its defeat. Chairman May should not be too greatly surprised at this, for many labor leaders have read the original industrial mobilization plan and they know what a conscription of man power means. Every man is required to register, and registration constitutes acknowledgment of the right of the state to do what it pleases with him. Men whose service in the trenches is "deferred" at the discretion of the President may be "reclassified" if they become dissatisfied with the wages the totalitarian state chooses to allow.

Every registered man is subject to military discipline, which means the practical suspension of civil rights and trial by court-martial. Couple this plan for selective service with the other features of the May bill and you get conscription of labor with a vengeance. This proposal, which is planned to render labor unions, farmers' cooperatives and all such bodies impotent to defend the interests of their members, exercises its control by classifying them as "industrial organizations" and thus bringing them under the threat of fines of $100,000 and their leaders under the menace of jail terms of a year for any strike or other act in defiance of any presidential "order, rule or regulation." It also establishes governmental control over labor unions engaged in "public services" (sections 3 and 6) which might include not only railroad unions but all transport workers and others handling public necessities. Under the pressure of war, that list is likely to include everything from soup to nuts.

One indication that this legislation contains nothing which really threatens profits is shown by the fact that it has the blessing of Bernard Baruch, whose mission in life is still to save capitalism from all threats of socialization in time of war. He describes it neatly as "the work-fight-or-starve plan," and benignly points out that non-cooperators with this scheme of things would be "cut off from rations, transportation, fuel and supplies." The warning of the Senate munitions committee still holds. "This country will have for all practical purposes a draft of labor."

Why Not an Honest Bill?

Representative Maverick, in open rebellion against the bill as "fraudulent" and completely dishonest when it pretends to take the profits out of war, has introduced again the real war profits bill which was formulated by the munitions inquiry. This (H.R. 9525) provides for steeply graduated income taxes which take 93 per cent of incomes above $20,000 and a smaller percentage of all incomes above $3,000. It has little likelihood of passage because, as the war department points out in the last edition of the industrial mobilization plan, "It is conceivable that a war might be conducted with such great regard for individual justice and administrative efficiency as to make impossible those evils [profiteering] whose existence in past wars is well known. It is also conceivable that the outcome of a war so conducted might be defeat."

The real reason why this genuine profits-control bill has no chance of passing is that neither the war department nor the prospective profiteers want such restrictions. The du Ponts in 1917 forced the government to accede to terms on the construction of a powder plant which a government expert said in advance would give that impecunious firm a profit of $43,000,000 in the first year of operation. "We cannot assent to allowing our patriotism to interfere with our duties as trustees," said Pierre du Pont. The reason why all sincere war profits bills are doomed was set forth by Bernard Baruch. "Ours is an economy motivated by profits," he patiently explained to the munitions inquiry. "There is no proof that it will run on psychology. Certainly we should not select an hour when the enemy is at the gates to find out whether it will or not."

Democracy On Guard

Men therefore will still die for "psychology," again, if present prospects mature, on alien soil thousands of miles from home. But the overlords of the economic system, who pay skilled liars to manufacture the "psychology," are never intoxicated by their own propaganda, but still insist on their fat percentage of profit. Perhaps we should listen before it is too late to the wisdom of Stephen Raushenbush, chief investigator for the Munitions Inquiry, who comments in his recent excellent book, *The Final Choice:* "It is only basic honesty to refuse to accept the inevitable wartime propaganda that capital has been forced to march in step with the drafted soldiers and with drafted labor, and that a gentlemanly war is in progress which no one need have any scruples about entering. The only way to keep the profits out of war is to keep out of war."

What can we do to keep out of war? War will destroy democracy while it is in progress, and there is more than an even chance that it will not revive afterward. We have therefore before us a simple alternative: Use democracy or lose it. Legionnaires, led by an overhead organization that works hand in glove with the war department, are flooding congressmen with letters supporting this conscription legislation. But for every legionnaire there are four other ex-soldiers who do not belong to this chauvinist organization. Their words will carry far. More than this—for every legionnaire there are twenty members of Protestant churches and many more in Catholic and Jewish churches who love liberty and realize how important zeal to maintain freedom is in a day of dictatorship. Why not ask the cooperation of church members to lay on congressmen's desks ten letters of protest for every legion-dictated epistle of commendation for this Sheppard-May bill? We can use this bill today as the war referendum proposal was used yesterday, as a vote of "no confidence" in the dangerous foreign policies which are being followed in Washington. While we are at it, we can also express an emphatic dis-

approval for this supernavy proposal, which is another piece of the same hysterical preparation for war.

Couple with two protests support for two constructive measures. The war referendum proposal is still alive, being represented by excellent bills in both houses of Congress. Regardless of what we may think of the merits of this proposal, people of all views should combine to insist that it be discussed as a rebuke to the gag rule which has so far kept it off the floors of Congress. Along with this we can support the Van Zeeland proposal for a world economic conference to lower tariffs, stabilize currencies, eliminate quota restrictions and encourage international trade. This proposal, the "only sense that is being talked in Europe today," is being shelved by the British and American governments, in spite of the fact that it was their encouragement which initiated the Belgian premier's study which eventuated in this statesmanlike report. The same insistence which brought the Briand proposal of a decade ago out to the light after it had been shelved in the state department can induce consideration of this practical alternative to world war.

You love democracy? Use it or lost it! That is the message which the conscription legislation now before Congress conveys.

The Farmer Seeks a Market

By David Stevenson

ALL of us share in the problem of getting our food in sufficient quantity and at a price we can afford to pay. Having farmed both in the north and in the south I have had opportunity to find out at first hand what it means to go without the necessities of life. When I learned that more than half of the urban population has to do without proper and sufficient food, although that food is available, I determined to find out why this was so, and to see what could be done about it. In this and subsequent articles I will simply try to tell of my own experience. But this experience I believe suggests that much can be done toward improving this fundamental aspect of the farm problem without changing the whole national economy in such far-reaching fashion as many have suggested.

The old platitude, "The farmer is the backbone of the nation," is cold comfort to the farmer when his burdens are breaking his back. By presenting to his urban brother a picture of the problems that confront the farmer, we may uncover clues to how both can work together to solve them for their mutual gain.

As the result of our faulty system of distribution, the consumer has come to believe that his interests are diametrically opposed to those of the farmer. In reality, the two sets of interests are identical. The consumer wants all the food he needs at a price he can afford to pay. The farmer wants to sell all the goods he can and get a fair proportion of what the consumer pays. This will enable him to buy the things which his urban brother manufactures. I hope to show what it is that prevents these two desires from being fulfilled.

I

Although I grew up in the city, from the time I was a boy of fourteen I spent my summers working on farms. Something drew me to the soil. It was natural for me to take up farming for my livelihood. The hopes and aspirations that welled up within me when I moved my wife and two young children to the newly rented farm knew no bounds. Although there were several inches of snow on the ground and it was bitter cold, it being the last day of the old year, there was warmth in our hearts. Here we thought we saw at last an opportunity to build for the future.

It is not necessary to give a detailed picture of the house that was to be our home, nor of the barn and granary that were in bad repair. This farm, when we came there, was no better or worse than millions of other run-down places that one could see all over our country. To anyone unfamiliar with our rural way of living, it would seem impossible that modern human beings could put up with such primitive conditions. Still, there is something in many of us that makes us want to take a run-down place and make out of it something beautiful. No paint on the buildings, no water in the house, no sewage, no electricity—such negatives were a challenge to my wife and me to turn them all into positives. We argued that by enriching the soil, by specializing in a few crops, and by developing direct markets, we could make all the necessary improvements one by one. As this place contained only forty acres and as I was familiar with truck farming, I decided to develop it into a truck farm, although it had been grained for many years previous.

II

One season on account of cold and rain the crops were very backward so that I decided to go to southern Illinois, where the crops mature three or four weeks earlier. There I planned to buy some produce for my trade. This was my first attempt to prolong my season and it gave me my first opportunity to observe how farmers lived who were at some distance from their market. My own farm was only twenty-two miles out of Chicago and I felt that my returns gave me little enough profit, but when I saw the small returns that truck farmers three hundred and fifty miles south of Chicago got, it accounted for their extremely low standards of living. One could see this from the emaciated and tattered children, the uninspired teachers and discouraged pastors.

This experience repeated year after year set me to thinking. I realized that the deprivation and suffering of these southern Illinois farmers were the result of their not being able to market their goods profitably. I could buy produce from these farmers, paying them more than they were get-

ting, haul it to the market, sell it myself and still make a profit. As long as I could sell the goods personally all was well, but farmers came to me in such large numbers, literally begging me to take their stuff, that I had to sell some of it through the wholesale market. Just as soon as I was obliged to turn over goods to someone else to sell for me, I could not so much as break even. More and more I came to believe that the crux of the farmer's problem lay in his inability to market his product directly. He was at the mercy of middlemen.

One season I went still further south to Tennessee. Here I met with the same response from the farmers. I had decided to ship a carload of tomatoes north instead of a truckload. But I was offered ten carloads if I would only take them. I returned to Chicago in order that I might be there when the car arrived, so that I could supervise the selling personally.

Wishing to prolong my season still more, the next season I went into the heart of Mississippi, one of the garden spots of the country. Here the standards of living were even worse than any I had seen. Shacks served for homes and the monotonous diet of salt pork, hot biscuits and black beans bespoke the farmer's abject poverty. Each year nature brought forth her bountiful crops. With them came renewed hopes, only to be crushed again by the returns from the first shipments. As I stood surrounded by fields filled with new cabbage, green peas and beans, which the farmers would not even pick because their returns would not be enough to pay for the containers they were shipped in, I was baffled. When I came back north, I found people by the thousands who were craving these very vegetables. On the one hand there was plenty, rotting in the fields; on the other, there was nothing—but plenty of mouths to feed.

III

Since the beginning of time, the farmer has had to reckon with the elements. He takes it for granted that all weather conditions will not be favorable. He has learned to combat the diseases of plants and to exterminate insect pests. Through the development of superior seeds, plants have been bred which have resistance to certain diseases and yield superior fruit. When the warning comes that there will be a freeze the farmer gets out his mule and goes along the rows of young plants covering them with a layer of loose earth so that the frost will not hurt them. The next day when it warms up he uncovers the plants to keep them from smothering. In this process he may lose a fourth or more of his crop, but that is a part of the business. In Mississippi there is a saying that a farmer always sleeps with one foot outside his covers. His foot serves as a thermometer, for if it becomes unduly cool he knows that he must jump out of bed and look to his tender plants.

I remember one season I had just finished setting out five acres of tomato plants. It was the 29th of May and for years there had not been a killing frost after the 20th. On Decoration day the wind veered to the northwest and all day long the temperature kept dropping. If the wind had kept up, the frost would not have settled down, but about seven in the evening the air stilled and frost became certain. My two hired men, my wife and two children—a boy of nine and a girl of seven—and I began covering plants. At nine o'clock the children gave out and went to bed. At eleven my wife followed them. The men and I stayed up until two in the morning. By that time the frost was on us. There were still a quarter of the plants to cover. When the sun came out every plant that had not been covered was black and dead. But when we uncovered the remaining plants they stood up fresh and green.

IV

But when a farmer has the good fortune to surmount all these difficulties, he still faces the biggest problem of all in marketing his goods profitably. Carefully he picks his produce and hauls it to the packing shed where it is graded and packed for shipping. In the case of tomatoes each one is wrapped and placed in a shipping box. Then they are loaded into the refrigerator car and inspected by a government agent. All these steps the farmer takes to insure that his goods will reach the market in perfect condition. Locked up in this shipment and others like them is all that the farmer hopes to get in cash returns for his year's work. But to the one who sells the goods it means just one more commission.

Up until the last two or three years, if the farmer chanced to get back an envelope containing a few postage stamps which represented the returns for his goods, he had to grin and bear it. Now if a farmer or shipper is not satisfied with his returns, he can at least send a postal card to the department of agriculture and a government agent will examine the records to see whether the sales were legitimate. This is done without any cost to the farmer. Yet while this is of some help, it does not get at the root of the trouble.

After we farmers have put forth every human effort, following the precepts of scientific knowledge and our own experience, it is baffling to get returns which do not enable us to live. We would prefer to give our goods away to the poor for nothing rather than to go through this mockery of selling and getting nothing for our work. If the consumer were paying little or nothing for these goods he, at least, would be getting the benefit of them. But we know that the consumer is paying a high price. We also know that many smaller markets are not being adequately supplied or supplied at all. Just why we do not get any price for our goods and why the consumer has to pay a high price and why the goods do not go where they are wanted are things that it has taken me years to find out. In another article I will share my discoveries with the reader.

Wit's End

WIT'S END is a wonder country
Where waiting visions dawn,
And the patient seer discovers
The baffling veil withdrawn.

It is the land of promise
Where souls that dare and plod
Find life's diviner meanings
In the awesome light of God.

ARTHUR BARDWELL PATTEN.

Dare We Look at Our World?

By Henry H. Crane

TWO MEN were riding together in a Pullman. As they passed a blast furnace in one of our industrial centers, one of them obviously cringed at the sight and quickly pulled down the shade. "Why do you do that?" asked his companion. "Brother," he replied, "I worked in a hell-hole like that for almost five years, burning the hide off my bones and the soul out of my body. Fortunately, I had an uncle who was kind enough to die and leave me enough money to enable me to get out of the place and live like a gentleman. But even now the very sight of such a place turns me fairly sick. Of course, we've got to have places like that, I suppose, and men have got to suffer. And there is just nothing I can do about it." There was silence for a moment, and then his companion said: "Well, there is at least one thing you can do." "What's that?" asked the man. "You can put up the shade and keep looking!"

"This is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men love darkness rather than light," not only because their deeds are evil, but because they do not want to see the evil that others are doing. Our first duty as Christians is to throw up the blind, to look, and to keep on looking until we actually suffer so much we simply cannot stand the sight and must of necessity do something about it. To become acutely aware of the woe of the world is to be compelled to care, and when we really care as our Christ cared, we shall share his passion and dare to do his bidding to go, help, heal and save.

Destructive Forces at Work

As Christians we must look at our world. And looking, what do we see? Certain glaring facts are obvious enough. Despite the indisputable desire for peace on the part of the vast majority of the people of the world, there is well-nigh universal strife. Everywhere beneath the feverish and frenzied grasping for power there is an unmistakable sense of frustration and futility. The masses, hungry for freedom, are more and more subjected to a bondage of such excessive regimentation and spiritual stultification as to make them more like machines than men. The tyranny of dictators, rampant militarism, fanatical racial antagonisms and nationalism gone mad—all these sinister forces are striving to strangle the liberty and culture of civilization. Fear, suspicion, hate, anger and unrestrained rivalry are threatening to wreck the world. There is unmistakable evidence on every hand that we are headed for another "pentecost of calamity." Such is the world one sees—a world that hurls such a truculent challenge to Christianity as to cause all sorts of revealing reactions.

Consider these reactions and how much they reveal. Some persons are astonishingly indifferent, obviously because they are ignorant of what is going on all about them, or because they are crassly insensitive, or because they are stupidly unimaginative, or because of all these things combined. Others are terribly frightened, panicky, worried to death. Still others are cynically hopeless, even despairing, believing that the world is doomed to destroy itself, and that there is nothing left for us but to wait, like the Roman soldier of Pompeii, for an inevitable end. But on the other hand, there are some who are actually inspired and exalted. They are called as with a high summons to rise to their best. The more desperate the situation the more definite the challenge. They meet the menace of calamity with something of an inner cheer. Such hours of threatening disaster come as a testing time to prove the worth and power of their spiritual resources.

Why Doesn't Christianity Work?

For Christians this last attitude is the only legitimate reaction. We have no right to be indifferent, terrified, hopeless. Ours is a religion that is supposed to be at home in chaos, a religion that can overcome the world, a religion that can empower the believer to do all things. Certainly that is the indisputable claim—now, as it always has been.

Why, then, does it not work that way today? It did once. The first three hundred years after the Master had walked this turbulent earth his followers followed him with desperate seriousness. Those early Christians looked open-eyed at a lost world and determined with God's help to save it. They believed the Master's way was *the* way, his method, *the* method, his teachings, *the* truth, his manner of living and dying, *the* life and immortality. Refusing to adopt vicious means to achieve their noble end, trusting utterly in the power of their God ultimately to bring to pass the consequences that were right if they but fulfilled the conditions immediately set before them, they wrought mighty miracles, and the proud, cruel Roman Empire that boasted of its impregnability was pushed into oblivion. In those days when Christians could die for their faith, and would not kill and lie and resort to all sorts of so-called "necessary" sins ostensibly to "defend" it, they were invincible.

Then came the great betrayal, the "tragedy" of the conversion of Constantine, and the subsequent adoption of the suicidal compromises that emasculated and devitalized Christianity. And now, after almost 1700 years of plausible preaching and partial practicing of this diluted, toned-down, crossless Christianity the kingdoms of this earth mock and revile the kingdom of our God and truculently repudiate its principles. Only in relatively rare and isolated instances is our religion to be found working with that mighty dynamic it claims to possess. Nowhere on a large scale and for a protracted period does it manifest that world-conquering power with which it is supposed to be endowed. Why is this so tragically true?

The Curse of Bad Religion

As Mount Everest actually tops all other peaks—though it took men a long time to realize and recognize the fact—so this problem of the apparent impotency of religion looms higher than all other problems. The conventional, contemporary claim of most religionists is that the major issue

of the hour is religion versus secularism. All who believe in God, we are told, must stand together against the godless. The bitterest battle of today or tomorrow is that between men of all faiths and the mighty hosts of unbelievers. That is the common cry. And of course there is something to it. It is a real problem. But it is not the most perilous one by any means. Secularism is bad enough, to be sure; but bad religion is far worse—and for several very real reasons: first, because there is so much more of it; second, because it does far more damage, works far more havoc; third, because it is so much harder to check, or correct, or overcome.

Certain it is that the most revolting and tragic sights one sees around this world derive directly or indirectly from some sort of religion. More awful crimes have been committed in the name of religion than can possibly be charged against secularism. Indeed the major cause of the rise and spread of secularism is this curse of bad religion. Nothing is so disastrous as religion gone wrong.

> For sweetest things turn sourest by their deeds;
> Lilies that fester smell far worse than weeds.

The assumption, therefore, that religion is invariably a blessing is monstrously false. Apparently, it is bad as often as it is good. Like electricity, it can illumine and warm and energize, or it can burn and blight and destroy. In either manifestation it is tremendously powerful. Put this potent motivating force behind certain ways of thinking, certain ways of acting, and these ways, good or bad, become as it were the will of God. Put such divine sanctions behind hard, cruel, vicious ideas and practices, and the consequences are disastrous. Conversely, put them behind humane, kind, generous ways of living and the results are very different. Religion can damn as well as redeem.

Christians Crucify Christ

Now, as in the days of Jesus, the most poignant problem is not secularism or irreligion against religion, but a high, inspiring, ethical religion against a low, deadening, unethical religion. It was not secularism that crucified the Master. It was religion. The outstanding religionists of the day did him in; not the atheists, nor the unbelievers. It is the same today. It is not secularists, but the religionists, yes, even certain self-styled "Christians" who "crucify the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame."

"Tell me," said a Buddhist priest to me in Bangkok, Siam, "how is it that the so-called Christian nations have almost always been the most successful warriors, have killed more people, stolen more territory and exploited more areas by violence than all other nations where other religions hold sway? As I read your Bible it seems as though your Leader explicitly forbade the very things you are most expert in. To be sure, most religions consider war wicked, but they find ways of sanctioning the wickedness just the same. But not Buddhism. In this we have the finest record of any religion known. Peaceful, tolerant, compassionate, no drop of blood has ever been spilled in the Buddha's name."

The one spot that stands out in my mind as the vilest center of unashamed depravity is the place called Macao, a three hour boat ride from Hongkong. Prostitution, gambling, opium smoking and numerous other practices pandering to man's worst self are not only permitted, they are assiduously promoted—and by a so-called Christian nation, Portugal, which nation nets the neat little sum of $8,000,000 a year from the abominable business. China would long ago have kicked the wicked traffickers into the sea, but other Western "Christian" nations will not allow her to do so, lest it "lower the prestige of the white man." Imagine! The first sight one sees when approaching the place is a white "Christian" church on the topmost hill, bearing on the steeple a huge gold cross. Instead of damning the traffic in human souls, it derives its income from the business. In the name of Christ, how can such things be? The answer is: bad religion!

Wesley's Problem Remains

But how can Christianity turn septic in such fashion? Or if not septic, insipid? That's the problem of problems confronting us now when as Christians we look at our world. It was Wesley's problem, too—the Christianity of his day was impotent to maintain spiritual and ethical vitality in the life of the individual and justice and peace of society. Religion was a cold and formal observance of ritual, the vital juices of reality had been drained off. The church was all but dead to ethical values. Selfishness was sanctified. Wesley looked—open-eyed—within his own heart, and on all the world without. Acutely aware of the woe of the world, he cared consummately. Directly he shared his Master's mighty passion—and lo, "his heart was strangely warmed!" And when that inner flame began to glow and grow and blow there was no stopping it—it set the world on fire with a new enthusiasm for vitalized and victorious religion.

Such a mighty spiritual rebirth is the desperate need of our day. We must make our Christianity Christ-like!

Three facts in particular I would stress: Our hearts must be strangely warmed, first of all, with a flaming faith in the feasibility of Christ's methods and means for winning this world. The tragic truth is that most of us simply do not believe that the principles of the Sermon on the Mount will work in a war-mad world like ours. The Beatitudes are too fantastically Utopian. Turning the other cheek, going the second mile, forgiving your enemies, praying for those who hate you, loving those who despitefully use you—all this is sheer madness in any grave international crisis. Jesus simply did not know what he was talking about, if he expects us to put such principles into practice when the world has gone crazy. We must have armaments, the greatest navy afloat, plenty of bombing planes and an army that can lick the world. We believe in the devil's principles, really. We doubt Christ's methods and his means—and as always, "He that believeth not shall be damned." To believe! To have faith! To be willing to risk one's life, one's all on his way and his truth—"in scorn of consequence." If our churches would do that they would make Christianity Christ-like!

Signs of Stagnant Faith

Our hearts must be strangely warmed, likewise, with a flaming love for our Christ as he lives in the lives of our needy fellow men all over this globe. Actually we do not love the least, last, lost human being with whom the Master so definitely identified himself. Witness our deserted mis-

sion stations all around the world—heartbreaking evidence of alienation of affection. Our imagination has been captured by some other interest, like a man whose love for his mate wanes when some other woman ensnares his imagination. In such a state anything his wife does or does not do is irritatingly wrong in his estimation. If she lets him alone, he finds fault because she is unaffectionate. If she makes any overture of love, he condemns her for annoying him all the while. She can do nothing but suffer, and hope, and pray.

The church's deserted missionaries, her abandoned projects of plighted troth, haunt me as nothing else. May God give us a strange warming of the heart that we may renew our loyalty and our love to our Lord and his co-workers who for us minister "unto the least of these our brethren" in our world parish!

And last, our hearts must be strangely warmed with a flaming vision of the cross of our Christ, if we would make Christianity Christ-like. By that I mean simply that there must come a realization of the inevitableness and the invincibility of the principles of redemptive sacrifice, not only on the part of Christ himself, but on the part of all of us as well. When he said, "If any man would be my disciple let him take up his cross and follow me," he meant what he said. We try to avoid the cross, and avoiding it we cut the heart out of our Christianity and leave it lifeless. Jesus' way is the way of the cross, and there is no other way whereby the world is to be saved.

BOOKS

The Christian Compromise

WHAT HAS CHRISTIANITY TO SAY? *By F. R. Barry. Harper & Brothers, $2.00.*

CANON BARRY'S new book brings up to date the issues and answers of his earlier and more substantial *Christianity and the New World.* It differs from its noteworthy predecessor in being largely material spoken at Westminster and the English universities, which may explain the fact, disappointing to this reviewer at least, that the new book is so exclusively apologetical and homiletical both in tone and substance. There are too many abstractions in capital letters; the argument shifts too easily and too often from the indicative "is" to the imperative "must"; and there is surely too ready a tendency to think of such societal arrangements as parliamentary democracy and collective security, for instance, as being necessary expressions of the Christian gospel. Why must the exigencies of the pulpit style invariably obstruct the careful expression and rigorous thought so essential to the Christian enterprise?

The problems Barry faces are all "live options" for present-day Christians: the relation of the gospel to rightist and leftist programs, the effectiveness of Christian faith *versus* the agencies of secular humanitarianism, the Christians' God and substitute objects of worship in contemporary totalitarianism and paganism, the Christian and the non-Christian understanding of man, and the all-important distinction between "the Christian standard" and "rules of conduct." The presuppositions and findings of the Oxford Conference are everywhere in this book.

Several controlling convictions in these chapters are suggestive of the best Christian thought of our time. There is the sound idea that a "true theology is the precondition of effective action," as well as the cognate belief in the infinite worth of the individual person: "Ours is the religion of personality." This affords Barry a leverage by which to deal convincingly with paganism both in its guise of the worship of false gods and as the liquidation of personal fulfillment as the end of social structures and processes.

A third conviction, to which the two final chapters are devoted, is that the Christian standard is revealed in the question asked of any human activity: "Does it serve God's advancing purpose for his world"? The final authority in terms of which answer is made is Christ, the inexhaustible "vital principle of creative moral growth." The Christian's life is likewise, in Pauline terms, a "growing up into Christ." Viewed from the point of view of the absolute standard, Christian living is a dreary succession of compromises; but "half a loaf is better than no bread" and we must work both within and without the church "towards producing that kind of society which would least undeserve Christ's approval."

Barry values and understands the precious tension between transcendent standard and temporal fact in the Christian life; he would make a place in the church for rigorist minorities on the basis of his understanding that the gospel is "radical rather than reformist." But one must look closely for anything very radical in his book. It represents essentially a middle-of-the-road Christianity, grateful for small favors even while it is sensitive to absolute claims.

ROGER HAZELTON.

Wesley As He Was

SON TO SUSANNA. *The Private Life of John Wesley. By G. Elsie Harrison. Cokesbury Press, $2.50.*

THE current celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of John Wesley's Aldersgate street heart-warming will undoubtedly produce a fresh spate of Wesley books. Whatever their scope and merit, it is safe to predict that no better one will be found among them than this written by Mrs. Harrison. Daughter of a famous Wesleyan historian, wife of another, descendant of Wesleyan traveling preachers and missionaries, Mrs. Harrison is steeped in Methodist lore. In addition, however, she is steeped in the lore of present-day psychology; she knows her Freud. The result is a study which never misses the enormous religious and social importance of John Wesley and his revival, but which at the same time sees the central actors as credible human beings moved by the same forces which move their fellows.

The core of Mrs. Harrison's thesis is to be found in her title. Never before has the family circle in the Epworth rectory been so brilliantly portrayed; never before has the irrepressible conflict between the father and mother been so sharply defined. The bombastic tyranny of the rector, the terrible fate visited on his daughters by their father's capricious and selfish rule, Susanna's fight for the soul of this son who was her "brand plucked from the burning"—all are there. Later, in connection with Wesley's many love affairs, the persisting influence of Susanna is shown at work. Even in the most tragic of them all, that with Grace Murray, Mrs. Harrison suggests that it was quite as much the restraining hand of his long-dead mother as the interference of his brother Charles

which kept John from marriage with the woman who was best fitted to become his wife. But without that restraining hand, as she clearly sees, the Methodist revival probably would never have worked out its full destiny.

Several years ago when the present reviewer was writing an account of Wesley's career which was to be published by the official publishing house of one of the Methodist denominations, it seemed the part of wisdom to dismiss the personal side of his life with the remark that he was a good deal of a fool about women, and let it go at that. It is a good sign to find the Southern Methodist publishing house now ready to market a biography which deals with this aspect of Wesley's life so candidly. It will do nothing to diminish Wesley's fame to have all the facts thus made available, for those who have steered away from him as a cold and somewhat incredible saint may find their interest reawakened by Mrs. Harrison's demonstration that Aldersgate street was not the only place in which the founder of Methodism felt his heart strangely warmed.

PAUL HUTCHINSON.

Individual and Society

THE BELOVED COMMUNITY. *By Roger Lloyd. The Macmillan Company, $2.25.*

THE CANON of Winchester presents with admirable persuasiveness and clarity a stimulating thesis. The kingdom of God, he says, is "the blessed community of those in perfect freedom from the world, in perfect loyalty to God and perfect fellowship with each other."

Society, he finds, is necessarily a matter of tension between ideas and between the individual and the community. How to keep a balance and to adjust these tensions is the problem of the individual and of society. Even to the Christian view, which exalts the individual, the community is more than the sum of its constituent individuals.

A formula must be found, then, to keep these tensions of interests and rights and purposes adjusted and in a balance. God is at the heart of the problem. As he studies the sources from which various leaders have taken their formulae, Canon Lloyd turns to the Bible and a survey of the Jewish community, which is so important to that people. The tribe, the group, to them, is more important. The New Testament universalizes this idea of one tribe or nation. The Beloved Community here is the church or the kingdom of God. Paul found it through union with Jesus Christ, achieved through union with the church, his Body. The New Testament word on the resolution of this tension may be found in Canon Lloyd's statement: "It is the teaching of the whole New Testament that the joy of God lies in the return to him of the love wherewith he first loved us."

Immortality is an important consideration, and for that reason Canon Lloyd makes an extended critique of Professor Macmurray's position which excludes that article of faith. Likewise the author does not find the solution in Wells' government by supermen, or in Gerald Heard's humanist position. Somehow the relative merits and claims of the individual and community must be recognized and allowed for—but how? In the peace question, for example, the individual Christian's position comes into conflict with the state.

The right use of authority is the key to the creative level of this tension, but it places a severe burden on all leadership. Jesus Christ supplies the spirit and method by which a balance can be maintained. In his spirit and in his way all peoples and all values are allowed for, and clashes avoided. Then the church would never fall into the error of shackling its ablest exponents for fear of some new idea or change. This must be done in freedom, with discipline self-imposed and with fears removed.

This position of Canon Lloyd's is admirably expounded and defended, and is one that will commend itself to many. It is perhaps the best general, spiritual explanation of what may be done about this clash of the individual and the community and the current clash of political and social philosophies in the world today, that we have had. His interpretation is spiritual, discriminating and wise.

RICHARD K. MORTON.

Books in Brief

THE UNVANQUISHED. *By William Faulkner. Random House, $2.50.*

A novel by Faulkner which can be read straight ahead, without leaving the reader wondering most of the time what it's all about, is in itself an event. In this, originally presented as unconnected short stories in the *Saturday Evening Post* and other magazines, Faulkner goes back to the Civil War to explain why the south which he has pictured in other books is the morally tormented region which he has made it out to be. Few stories of the war and the reconstruction period have pierced farther below the surface or been more self-authenticating in mood and interpretation.

A TIME TO LAUGH. *By Rhys Davies. Stackpole Sons, $2.50.*

This is a vigorous story of life in a Welsh mining community and of man's inhumanity to man. A strike, labor riots, an old-time revival meeting add zest to the excitement. The central figure, a young medico of the middle class, gives up his home to seek, among the underprivileged, physical and spiritual ease. His struggle to find it furnishes the basis for this robust narrative. The characters are well drawn, and the pro-labor point of view is presented in a convincing manner.

FOR US IN THE DARK. *By Naomi Royde Smith. The Macmillan Company, $2.75.*

Miss Smith tells a long, involved story of crime and intrigue. Mysterious birth, avarice, five murders, an exciting trial, sorrow and ruin form part of the complicated plot of this novel in which the action occurs mostly in the post-war period in Cornwall and London. There are many homely details and keenly portrayed characters. Several sharp raps at the Oxford Group and the English divorce courts furnish piquancy. Some rather mystical inferences in the realistic, pessimistic conclusion leave this reviewer cold. An interesting reworking and modernization of a tale by Browning.

THE FIGHT FOR CHARACTER. *By John W. Dunning. Fleming H. Revell Company, $1.50.*

The minister of the First Presbyterian Church of Kalamazoo, Michigan, having for twenty-two years preached to a congregation made up largely of college students, graduates and professors, presents fourteen of his most representative "Chapel Talks to Young Hearts." The messages are neither theological nor ecclesiastical. The author has aimed to "bring forth a personal, social and practical interpretation of the religion of Jesus, understandable to the youth, and applicable to the situations of the life of today." That the author has been catholic in his reading is quickly evident. Quotations from Sidney Lanier, Charles Darwin, Irvin Cobb and Alex Munthe jostle one another within a few pages.

Books Received

The Story of Instruction: The Church, the Renaissances and the Reformations. By Ernest Carroll Moore. Macmillan, $4.00. (To be reviewed.)

With Jesus to Calvary. Edited by H. Ingram. Baskerville Press, York Road, Eastbourne, England, 1/- A day by day account of the events leading to Calvary.

Annals of the Swedes in Delaware. By Jehu Curtis Clay. Fourth edition. Introduction by Henry S. Henschen. John Ericsson Memorial Committee, 740 Rush St., Chicago, $3.00. First published in 1832, now reissued with an appendix in memory of John Ericsson, builder of the *Monitor* and also of the *Princeton,* the first war ship with a screw propeller and machinery below the water line. The book is a classic as a record of early Swedish settlements in America.

The Dragon at Close Range. By William C. McGrath. St. Francis Xavier Seminary, Scarboro Bluffs, Ontario, $2.45. This attractive volume, printed in Shanghai though published in Canada, is an unusually well written account of certain aspects of Roman Catholic missions in China and of the Chinese people as seen by the Prefect Apostolic of Lishui, Chekiang. Text and illustrations are both beautiful and informing.

Begone Satan! A Soul-Stirring Account of Demoniacal Possession in Iowa. By Carl Vogl. Published by Rev. Celestine Kapsner, O. S. B., St. John's Abbey, Collegeville, Minn., 15 cents. (To be reviewed.)

The Lawyers' Proof of the Hereafter. By Claude W. Rowe. John C. Winston Co., $2.00.

In the Name of Common Sense. By Matthew N. Chappell. Macmillan, $1.75.

Art and Character. By Albert Edward Bailey. Abingdon, $3.75. (To be reviewed.)

The Pasquier Chronicles. By Georges Duhamel. Henry Holt, $3.50. (To be published March 17.)

The Riddle of the World. By D. S. Cairns. Round Table Press, $3.00. (To be reviewed.)

Recreation in Church and Community. Edited by Warren T. Powell. Abingdon, 75 cents. On the moral values of recreation and the ways of realizing them through church and community programs, with a bibliography on specific recreational activities.

Lives of Girls Who Became Famous. By Sarah K. Bolton. Forty-fifth printing. Crowell, $2.00. A revised and modernized edition of a classic first published fifty years ago.

The Greenwood Hat. By J. M. Barrie. Scribners, $2.75. (To be published March 11.)

These Names of Ours, A Book of Surnames. By A. W. Dellquest. Crowell, $2.50. Giving the origin and meaning of several hundred family names.

Little Patron of Gardeners, The Good Saint Fiacre. By Catherine Beebe. Longmans, $1.00. A pleasant and well illustrated book designed to instill in the minds of children from five to eight an attitude of reverence toward the saints and toward Roman Catholic ideas generally, with special reference to the life and miracles of Saint Fiacre, Irish anchorite of the seventh century who is said to be the patron saint of gardeners and who got the Paris cabs named after him because the first livery stable in the city (1640) was at the "Hotel de Saint Fiacre."

An Open Letter to Jews and Christians. By John Cournos. Oxford University Press, $2.00. (To be published March 17.)

Prayer and Worship. By Douglas V. Steere. Association Press, 50 cents. One of the admirable "Hazen Books on Religion." The author, one of the younger Quaker writers, associate professor of philosophy in Haverford College, treats of growth in the Christian life through the practice of private prayer and corporate worship. A little book worth much more than its price.

Let Us Pray. By Winifred Kirkland. Harpers, $1.00. A personal record of fifteen years of experience with the power of prayer and the reaction of a reflective mind upon that experience.

A New Approach to the Old Testament. By C. A. Alington. Harpers, $1.75. A brief and simple introduction (but not in the technical sense) by the Bishop of Durham, with foreword by the Archbishop of York. The newness, if any, of the approach lies in its emphasis upon the prophets as giving the key to Hebrew history and showing the direction and culmination of its development as a preparation for the gospel. Written with sound scholarship and unusual charm.

Thy Kingdom Come—But Not Now. By Margaret Slattery. Harpers, $1.50. Using a method in which concrete illustration is so prominent that it borders upon fiction, this well known writer confronts the reader with searching questions regarding the responsibilities of the church and Christian individuals at this time of economic inequality, social confusion and political uncertainty.

St. John of the Cross, 1542-1591, Doctor of Divine Love: An Introduction to His Philosophy, Theology and Spirituality. By Bede Frost. Harpers, $4.00. (To be reviewed.)

The River. By Pare Lorentz. Stackpole Sons, $2.00. A large-page volume, with more pictures than text, both taken from the authors' motion picture of the same name produced for the Farm Security Administration. The main point is to present the waste of erosion, the horrors of flood and the merits of the TVA and other government agencies for flood control. Dramatic and impressive.

CORRESPONDENCE

Is the Legion Being Deluded?

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: "All I know is what I've read in the newspapers," Will Rogers often said. All the authority for what I have to say concerning the delusion of legionnaires by the advocates of the universal service (Hill-Sheppard) bill is what I've read in the American Legion papers. Chief among these is the January number of the *National Legionnaire.* This tells how legion forces were used to kill the Ludlow bill and are now being used to secure the passage of the universal service bill known as S. 25. That the American Legion is taking the passage of this bill seriously as advocated by the leaders is further evidenced by a communication read at the local meeting of the post last night from the state department urging every legionnaire to write at once to Washington in behalf of this bill. This communication asked all local posts to do what another post did a few days earlier: Have paper and pens ready and addressed envelopes so that each letter could and would be mailed at once to the proper parties. How many of the 80,000 Illinois legionnaires will respond to such pressure, I do not know. Still, it is possible to fool the American people, and many legionnaires seem to enjoy fooling themselves and their comrades with this universal service bill.

Show us wherein we are being fooled, the legionnaire asks. Very well. A signed article by our national commander on page one of the *National Legionnaire* says that the legion at the New York convention placed "a firm demand for universal service legislation in this session of Congress, providing for an equal distribution of the burdens of war, with special privileges and profits for none," in the legion program second only to seeking government protection for widows and orphans. Frank Pinola, who is chairman of the national legislative committee of the legion, advocates S. 25 saying, "The adoption of this bill will be the greatest single contribution to the cause of peace of this generation." This bill authorizes, in section 3, the drafting of such men as the President deems advisable between 21 and 31. When in the army presumably they are to receive the customary army pay. On the other hand, industry is assured 5 per cent clear profit above the previous three year average earnings.

The lure of the universal service bill to thousands of legionnaires is that they believe it is going to make the rich person work for the same wage as the soldier. This is what has made them consider the universal service bill a peace measure. They had argued: "Make a law that allows no more pay or profit to the millionaire or industrialist than to the private in the trenches, and make them also get out and go through what some of us have gone through, and there will be no more war." If they think this bill does this they are deluded. Under its provisions the presidents of General

Motors or Bethlehem Steel may still draw nearly a million a year while a dollar a day is what a private in the army gets. And these firms are permitted not only to make 5 per cent, but rather 5 per cent more than they had been making in the three years previous to the war. The substitute house bill, H. R. 6704, would insure a fair normal return to labor, management and invested capital, and what above that shall be taxed away shall be recommended by the secretary of treasury to Congress within thirty days after war is declared. It is illusory to hope for much from this possible substitute provision. Big business has power and influence in Congress, most of all during periods of national emergency.

When one scans S. 25 which is being advocated by our legion leaders one is shocked to find that section 1 authorizes the President to assume dictatorial powers; that section 2 authorizes the President to assume dictatorial powers; that section 3 authorizes the President to assume dictatorial powers; that section 4 authorizes the President to assume dictatorial powers; that section 5 authorizes the President to assume dictatorial powers; that section 6 authorizes the President to assume dictatorial powers; that section 7 authorizes the President to assume dictatorial powers. Section 8 requires the courts to punish anyone who violates the publicly proclaimed rules or regulations proclaimed by the President according to the powers vested in him by this act.

I looked in vain to see if we were still to have a Congress after war is declared. In vain did I look to see if the Constitution with its bill of rights and guarantee of civil liberties was upheld, or even thought of in this bill. I was glad that Commander Colmery last year reasserted our faith in free speech and civil liberties. I was equally glad that Commander Dougherty reaffirmed our faith in Congress and the American plan of government when he opposed the Ludlow bill. Let us keep going forward by dropping the universal service bill as if it were a hot brick. It is not in accord with the American plan of government, but rather is a direct road to a fascist dictatorship such as Germany, Italy, Russia or Japan has.

Lakes Region Post 703. RAYMOND H. LAURY.
Fox Lake, Ill.

M-Day for the Church

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: The time has come for the church to organize its own "M-day." What are we going to do when the pressure is turned on to drive us into war? Unless we act quickly, that day will be on us before we are ready. Here is a quotation from Oswald Garrison Villard: "There is no doubt that from now on the Roosevelt administration will take an aggressive stand against the Japanese. It has set its feet upon the path that leads to war. . . . Very soon we shall be hearing over the radio that we have rights and privileges in China and that they must not be interfered with no matter who challenges them. . . . It is confidently believed that if this program is skilfully worked through the radio and the movies and the press, or that part of it that will go along, and is backed up by a couple of good fiery fireside talks from the White House, it will go over with a bang!" And once again we will rush blindly into another foreign war, which can mean only more deaths, more debts, financial collapse, and a dictatorship in place of our democracy.

If we act quickly, it may not be too late. The one hopeful note is that we have done it before. The story of January, 1927, should be told over and over again—the story of "the war that never happened" because the churches mobilized the peace sentiment of the nation.

Eleven years ago, newspapers across the country were freely predicting that we would be invading Mexico in two months. Meetings were being held from Maine to California shouting for war. Our secretary of state had sent Mexico an ultimatum. The president of Mexico appealed for arbitration and our President refused. That course could have but one ending, war. Then S. Parkes Cadman, president of the Federal Council of Churches, swung into action. Through this national leadership, churches all over the land were awakened to the danger, and spurred to action. Telegrams and letters by the thousands poured into Washington. The President changed his tone. A resolution for arbitration was introduced and finally passed by our Senate.

The propaganda for war will be more subtle and more swift this time. The only chance the churches have of successfully opposing it depends on their acting right now to perfect their organization. The army's M-day plans for war are all made now. Unless the church's "M-day plans for peace" are ready in advance when the crisis breaks, it will be too late.

Presbyterian Church, CHARLES H. DAYTON.
Phelps, N. Y.

A Litany for Union

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: In connection with the admirable articles on Christian reunion appearing in your pages, I think you may be interested in a litany drawn up many years ago by the Companions of the Holy Cross and in use at Adelynrood. The litany was the result of a conference on church unity formed under the inspiration of Mr. Robert Gardiner, where members of all the great communions, including the Roman Catholic, had presented their thought of the special contribution to religion made by the bodies to which they severally belonged.

I suppose that, strictly speaking, a litany implies petition rather than thanksgiving. But we always called this a litany. I think the use of it broadened our minds. It ran as follows:

"Let us give thanks for the gifts and graces of each great division of Christendom.

"For the Roman Catholic Church: its glorious traditions; its disciplines in sanctity; its worship, rich with the religious passion of the ages; its noble roll-call of martyrs, doctors and saints.

"We thank thee, O Lord, and bless thy holy name.

"For the Eastern Orthodox Church: its secret treasure of mystic experience; its marvelous liturgy; its regard for the collective life and the common will as a source of authority.

"We thank thee, O Lord, and bless thy holy name.

"For the great Protestant communions:

"For the Congregationalist jealousy for the independence of the soul and the group; for the stress in the Baptist churches, on the need for regeneration and the relation of the mature soul to its Lord; for the power of the Methodists to appeal to the hearts of the humble by their faith and fervor:

"We thank thee, O Lord, and bless thy holy name.

"For the Presbyterian reverence for the sovereignty of God; for their confidence in his faithfulness to his covenant; for their sense of the moral law, expressing itself in constitutional government.

"We thank thee, O Lord, and bless thy holy name.

"For the inward vision of the King in his beauty, borne witness to by the Society of Friends.

"We thank thee, O Lord, and bless thy holy name.

"For the Anglican Church: its sweet and temperate ways; its catholic heritage; its Protestant conscience; its yearning love for all divisions of Christendom; its longing to be used as a house of reconciliation.

"We thank thee, O Lord, and bless thy holy name.

"Let us pray that the will to unity may be mightily awakened in all the communions of Christendom.

"O Christ, hear us: Lord, have mercy upon us: Christ, have mercy upon us

"O Lamb of God, who takest away the sins of the world: grant us thy peace.

"Our Father who art in heaven," etc.

Wellesley, Mass. VIDA D. SCUDDER.

The R. A. F. on the Indian Border

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: In the November 24 issue of your paper I find a letter from Rev. F. D. Elmer, Jr., of Lockport, N. Y., regarding conditions on the northwest frontier of India. I am sure this gentleman would want to know the true facts. His letter is backed primarily by a quotation from the annual review of the Socialist Committee for Indian Independence, which I regret to say does not present a true picture. The government of India is on the defensive on the frontier as much as China was at Nanking. The border tribes are not Indians, and they hold themselves far superior to any and all

Indians, as they truly are physically. They live primarily to wage war, pillage and plunder. The inhabitants of India who live near the frontier live in fear, and suffer great losses of life and property from raiding parties of the tribesmen. Remove the troops from the frontier and the tribesmen would be in Delhi in a fortnight, leaving behind them fire, rape and destruction. No one would be spared death except the good looking young women, and they against their will. The Japanese are purring kittens compared to the people who inhabit the trans-border country.

Where villages have been bombed, notice has been given, and all of the inhabitants have cleared out; only the buildings have been destroyed. Large bodies of troops are not involved in any engagement, four to five hundred a side.

Great Britain was honest in her disarmament, and a short time back these cooing doves, the tribesmen, fought their way into the municipal limits of the city of Peshawar, the key city to the Kyber pass and the frontier. The Indian who really counts for anything in this country knows that this frontier problem is one they would like Great Britain to keep forever, for they can solve it or handle it now, if ever.

I am an American citizen and have lived in India since 1914.

Lucknow, India. W. C. CARPER.

Are We Christian?

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Three interesting letters have just come to my desk from China. One from Peiping, one from Hangchow, one from Amoy. These letters came to me carried personally by Americans escaping from the horrors of war, as the contents of the letters if mailed would be censored by the Japanese authorities and destroyed.

The writers of these letters are representatives of the Young Men's Christian Association and the Board of Missions of the Congregational Churches. And these writers have been ordered home by their headquarters secretaries because their salaries as teachers and secretaries can no longer be met, owing to the failure of those who have supported these Christian missions to pay into headquarters the necessary money.

But the writers of the letters that I have received have refused to come home and are staying in China because they are more needed there than ever.

And here is the crux of the answer to the question, "Are We Christian?"

The Chinese bearing the brunt of a brutal and tragic wholesale massacre are taking care of the writers of these letters, housing and feeding them, while we here in America who claim to be Christian are spending so much on movies and football that we have no money for Christian missions.

The above is written with care.

The evening before Thanksgiving day in my own town, the churches of different denominations held union services, observing the day as a time to give thanks to Almighty God for his goodness to us.

At one of these mass meetings in which seven different churches were supposed to take part and which my wife and I attended, there were 215 people, members of the different churches present in a church that seats over 1,000. The same evening there were over 3,000 people by count, most of them church members, in a hall to see a questionable play called a humorous travesty on the administration. And they paid an average of a dollar apiece to see it. The offering taken for the suffering Chinese in the church meeting was all of $27. There were thousands of people this same evening crowding the motion picture houses, hundreds of church members in the audiences.

Thanksgiving day there were 12,000 people at a football game played between two high school teams and the people paid fifty cents apiece to see the game. The next Sunday at one of the largest churches which has a fifty thousand dollar debt on its parish house the collection was less than seventy-five dollars. It was a beautiful day and there were less than 300 people in the church. A fine day for motoring.

I am not as young as I was forty years ago when the same church used to be crowded every Sunday and I don't want to be counted among those old men who are always harking back to "the good old days," but I do want to ask if the question at the head of this article is not a fair question to ask. At least it is a fact that the citizens of this great republic are spending more money on movies and football and cosmetics than for the churches to which they belong, and they are so poor that they have to cable their missionaries to come home because they cannot pay their salaries while the poor "heathen" who are under the harrow of a record breaking brutal war are taking care of our Christian representatives on the foreign field.

Are we Christian?

I will welcome letters from the readers of this letter.

Topeka, Kansas. CHARLES M. SHELDON.

Wrong Direction

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Your editorial, "Why Mr. Roosevelt Wants a Supernavy," leaves one gasping at the audacity of the President's dream, or rather nightmare. There is only one criticism of the editorial. There is a wrong direction in one of your metaphors. You wrote: ". . . in this new section of the naval bill, the sky's the limit!" That isn't true. You should have written, "Hell's the limit!"

First Baptist Church, W. T. VANDEVER.
Erie, Pa.

Retribution?

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Before you shed too many tears over the plight of Pastor Niemöller I would suggest you take a good look at a recently published picture of him in which he smilingly sports the bemedaled uniform of a submarine commander in Kaiser Wilhelm's royal navy. He appears neither like a martyr to the cause of free speech and religious liberty nor an angel of mercy in the promotion of peace on earth and good will among men.

His attitude at the time of the World War and that today is too inconsistent to stir up much sympathy in the heart of one who cares to do a little more than superficial thinking. Christian precepts were the same then as they are today and if they had been heeded and strictly adhered to by those who profess to be followers of the faith the circumstances under which Mr. Niemöller is about to be canonized as a martyr to the cause would not have arisen.

As we sow, so must we reap. From the seeds he scattered in Kaiser Wilhelm's behalf have sprung the tares and thistles which so severely prick the flesh and torment the soul of Pastor Niemöller today.

Covington, Ohio. R. S. VAN HISE.

A Neglected Bill

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: In the correspondence from New England in your issue of January 26 is the following item: "The Socialist party has filed a bill to enable the state to purchase vacant factories and mines and to employ the jobless at current wages, selling the products to them and to the general market." Theoretically that is an admirable proposition, but it will be impossible, probably, to secure the passage of such legislation. The reason is that the products would compete with the products of "legitimate" business. Consequently, such proposed legislation will be opposed by all "legitimate" businessmen, their employees, retainers, dependants and apologists, the latter including most newspapers.

There is a bill, lately introduced in Congress, which if passed would more nearly cure our economic ills, I believe, than any other legislation of which I have any knowledge. That is the "Industrial Expansion Act." It might be roughly described as the NRA or the AAA in reverse, being aimed at abundance instead of scarcity, and at low prices instead of high prices. Anyone interested in discovering a way out of our present dilemma should ask the congressman from his district to send him a copy of H. R. 7335, 75th Congress, 1st Session, and also copies of the *Congressional Record*, Appendix, 75th Congress, 1st Session, pages 166 and 167.

The proposed legislation is not intended to benefit one group, but all groups, and would increase and stabilize both production and employment. It should be given more publicity than it has yet received.

Anna Maria, Fla. D. T. Hinckley.

Freedom in Worship

Editor The Christian Century:

SIR: I want to commend Clarence Seidenspinnner's article on "Form and Freedom in Worship." We do need a unified church, but not uniformity in worship. Stereotyped ritual, either classic or romantic, ancient or modern, would standardize our congregations out of all spontaneity.

I am now retired from active ministry, with ample opportunity to attend worship in many churches. I find, even in our non-liturgical sects, too much likeness and too little variety. Some vital surprises would stir me. But everywhere I find standardization, and the spirit of spontaneity is too often lacking. Then the dynamic note is so frequently muted in both the music and the message. I feel at times like crying with Joel, "Blow ye the *trumpet* in Zion!" It's as impertinent to succumb to cant as it is to revel in rant. Sameness, without the stirring of great vitality, so often means tameness. We need to put the "new wine in new bottles."

The "temple sleep" is not infrequent, even before the sermon at times. I have no objection to a sweetly solemn service, if it isn't sweetly soporific. Throughout the worship should ring the challenge, "Awake thou that sleepest, and Christ shall give thee light!"

Claremont, Calif. Arthur B. Patten.

Renewed Hope

Editor The Christian Century:

SIR: I want to express my very deep appreciation of your two editorials, "The Modern Novelty of the Gospel" and "Evangelizing the Church." With these editorials belongs the "Thought for the Month," in the January *Christian Century Pulpit*, "The Church as the Hope of the World." I am using these for my first sermon in Lent.

What Principal Whale said is certainly true in my own experience. I am not at all ashamed of my grades in the seminary (Boston University School of Theology), neither do I have any criticism of any professor on the faculty. I admire and envy their brilliance. They are great Christian scholars. But my first year in the ministry proved to me that I had not been trained for my task.

The seminary approach is too apologetic, and outside I found myself actually ashamed of the gospel of Jesus Christ, especially in academic circles. And the ministry has actually been asking science and philosophy what we could preach. And preachers have been quoting with great seeming satisfaction the religiously disinterested scientist and philosopher as these men have taken a patronizing attitude toward the church and its message.

I have become so discouraged of late that I have seriously contemplated renewing my old high school teacher's certificate. The whole church program is built up around the less essential and nonessential. Believing strongly in the objective, I am utterly disgusted with the name "Million Unit Fellowship" in my own denomination, because the *unit* is a *dollar* and not a human soul.

Many of us look to The Christian Century for leadership, and we are grateful for such in interdenominational cooperation, and in our great hope for peace. And thank you for adding this to your objectives. You have given me renewed hope and zeal. I think I'll stick!

Methodist Episcopal Church, Noel H. Cardwell.
Kings Park, N. Y.

An Indignant Episcopalian

Editor The Christian Century:

SIR: When a bishop in the church of God and an editor of a respectable church paper go so far as to compare the recent intercommunion service in Washington cathedral with adultery, it is time for somebody to cry out against this indignity. To compare the association of fellow Christians, all of whom are admitted to be members of the church of Christ by reason of their baptism (no matter what name they attach to their group)—to compare this gesture of fraternity with the act of paramours who have not yet been legally wedded is to be grossly insulting, logically blind and utterly lacking in appreciation of the spirit of Jesus. It is gratuitous, libelous and so far wide of any accuracy in comparison or contrast as to be both ridiculous and revolting.

Olney, Md. Thomas F. Opie.

The Question Box

How was the church calendar devised, and by whom? What was the origin of the liturgy? To what extent is liturgy the common possession of all Christians? What is the origin and meaning of such terms as Septuagesima, Sexigesima, etc.?—I. D. B., Brookfield, Mo.

IT IS EVIDENT that all religions which have attained cultural levels and a literature have developed a ritual of more or less elaborate character. The Old Testament contains many indications of ritualistic usage, particularly in the Psalms, the Chronicles, and such fragments as Numbers 6:24. These seem to have been connected with the services of the second temple, and were undoubtedly continued in the Herodian period, and in the synagogue.

The Christian church, which was at first largely recruited from Jewish groups, inherited these forms of service, and added to them the new features suggested by the ministry of Jesus and the experiences of the growing congregations. There are the familiar references in the Christian sources to "psalms, hymns and spiritual songs" as features of the common worship (Eph. 5:19, Col. 3:16), and the great hymns preserved in the Third Gospel (chapters 1 and 2), usually known by their Latin titles—the "Magnificat," the "Benedictus," the "Gloria in Excelsis" and the "Nunc Dimittis," together with the hymns found in the Revelation and such fragments of liturgical character as Eph. 5:14 and 1 Tim. 3:16. As the church expanded into non-Jewish areas it seems probable that elements from the Greek mystery cults, to which there are references in the New Testament, found their way into Christian worship.

The earliest surviving liturgical form is found in the Apostolic Constitutions of the fourth century, known as the "Clementine Liturgy." The early forms of worship which gathered around the celebration of the communion gradually took on local phases of which four classes may be recognized, those of Antioch (Jerusalem, Byzantine, Armenian); Alexandria (Coptic and Ethiopic); the ancient Roman, now no longer in use; Gaul (France, Italy, Spain and Britain). These have taken popularly the names of James, Mark, Peter and John respectively. There have been many modifications in the forms and usages in different localities. At the Reformation many of the features of liturgical character were modified or abandoned by the reformed churches as partaking too much of Roman elements.

Christian leaders are now inclined to believe that these eliminations were somewhat too drastic, and that features of the Christian year were sacrificed which were truly primitive and rest upon New Testament foundations. This has led to a restudy of the values of the Christian year, particularly its important seasons, like Advent (the four Sundays preceding Christmas, together with Christmas), in celebration of the coming of our Lord into the world; Epiphany (from Advent to Lent) the celebration of the manifestation of Jesus to the world; Lent (the forty days preceding Easter), in remembrance of the forty days of our Lord's temptation in the wilderness, and of the week of tragedy and triumph, usually called "Holy Week"; from Easter to Pentecost (Whitsunday), the bestowal and ministry of the Holy Spirit; from Pentecost to the Advent season, the Christian way of life.

The six Sundays preceding Easter are Sundays in Lent, and some of the churches give to the Sundays before Lent Latin names denoting their distance from Easter, e.g., Septuagisima (approximately seventy days), Sexagesima (sixty), Quinquagesima (fifty), etc.

H. L. W.

NEWS *of the* CHRISTIAN WORLD

Minneapolis Has Streetcar Strike

Workmen Win Brief Contest—State Pastors Confer—Lutherans Move Toward Consolidation

(Correspondence from Minnesota)

VIRGINIA, MINN., Feb. 19.—Minneapolis has had another strike. This time it was a streetcar and bus strike. The service of these highly important utilities ceased in Minneapolis at 5 P.M. on Monday, Feb. 14, and in St. Paul at 11 the same evening. The strike started when men at the Lake street station refused to take one-man cars out on a certain line. The union claimed this would result in the lay-off of 20 men. The strike spread as other units of the system quit, conductors and motormen bringing their cars back to the barns and bus drivers returning to the garages. The company called the one-man car order a necessary economy move, not covered by its agreement with the union. The strike affected about 1,300 conductors, motormen and drivers, besides a large number of the company's 1,000 shopmen, electricians and other transportation workers. The strike was of short duration, the cars beginning operations again at midnight of Feb. 15. Two-men car service was resumed for the present, with no discrimination against those who had gone out.

* * *

State Pastors Hold Conference

The sixth Minnesota State Pastors Conference is to be held at Plymouth Congregational Church, Minneapolis, next week, Feb. 21 to 23. The presiding officer for the entire conference is Rev. E. W. Praetorius, bishop of the northwest area of the Evangelical Church. C. A. Wendell, pastor of Grace Lutheran Church, Minneapolis, is chairman of the program committee, and H. L. Stright of St. Paul, general secretary of the Minnesota Council of Religious Education, is the executive secretary of the committee. Those on the program from outside the Twin Cities include Oscar F. Blackwelder, Lutheran pastor of Washington, D. C.; L. W. Goebel of Chicago, Evangelical pastor; Linus Johnson, Temple Baptist Church of Duluth; Emery Luccock, pastor of American Church of Shanghai; Albert W. Palmer, president of Chicago Theological Seminary; Bertha Rachel Palmer, National W.C.T.U., Evanston; and A. E. Slater, missionary of Allahabad, India.

* * *

Churches Sponsor Discussions Of Young People's Problems

Following the leadership of Hennepin Avenue Methodist Church, Minneapolis, of Faribault and a number of communities in the Twin Cities, Duluth has this winter organized two "Universities of Life." One is in the First Methodist Church, and the other is participated in by Endion Methodist, St. Paul's Episcopal and Pilgrim Congregational. A large number of young people of other religious affiliations have been attracted to these groups. The program of the evening consists of a fellowship hour with an inexpensive lunch, a chapel service conducted largely by the young people with a special speaker, and lastly informal group discussions of intimate problems of life and religion. Groups are sponsored by younger married couples and led by experienced leaders of group discussions. It has seemed to be the experience throughout this state that where the program has been kept on a basis definitely religious and related to vital life problems, and has been kept in the hands of the young people themselves, the "University of Life" has met a real need.

* * *

Lutherans Move Toward Consolidation

The first meeting of the Lutheran Association of America is being held in Minneapolis this week, to which have been invited members of all Lutheran church bodies. The purpose is to formulate a program for "better understanding, recognition and cooperation among Lutherans." Dr. W. P. Christy, pastor of St. Mark's Lutheran Church and temporary general secretary, explains the idea in this manner: "Most Lutherans came originally from non-English speaking peoples, arriving at different times, and settling in widely separated communities"; hence there has been a complex development in this country. The Lutheran Association of America "has undertaken to hasten the time when the Lutheran church bodies will be able to effect a desired consolidation."

* * *

And So Forth

George D. Dayton, one of the outstanding businessmen and church leaders of Minneapolis and the nation, died at his home in Minneapolis on Feb. 18. Mr. Dayton was born in New York in 1857 and came to Minnesota in 1883. The Dayton Store, one of the finest and most reliable in the northwest, is a monument to his business integrity, while the Dayton Foundation of $1,000,000 endowment is a monument to his philanthropic spirit. Mr. Dayton was a member of the Westminster Presbyterian Church of Minneapolis and a national figure in that denomination.

Dr. Olin D. Jackson of Brookings, S. D., has been appointed to the pulpit of Joyce Methodist Church of Minneapolis, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Dr. George Zentz, who was killed in an automobile accident in St. Paul in December.

The Portland Avenue Church of Christ, Minneapolis, celebrated its 61st anniversary this week, and the Elim Swedish Baptist Church is observing the 50th anniversary of its organization.

Gustavus Adolphus Lutheran Church in northeast Minneapolis dedicated its new building recently. It has a total seating capacity of 800 and cost $38,000.

This is the last letter that I shall have the privilege of writing as the staff correspondent from Minnesota for The Christian Century. The first of March I shall take over the pastorate of the First Methodist Church of Brookings, S. D.

EDWARD W. STODGHILL.

Ban Newspaper For Editorial

Criticism of Government Brings Suspension—Armistice in Church-State War Benefits Both Sides

(Correspondence from Mexico)

GUADALAJARA, MEXICO, Feb. 10—During these days Mexican news has been even harder to follow than usual. For the past four months the publication of the *Informador*, Guadalajara's leading newspaper, has been suspended. The outward cause was a strike of newsboys, who made demands impossible to meet, but the public takes it for granted that the real reason was an editorial criticizing the state government. The two independent newspapers of Mexico City have been taking sides with the *Informador* to the extent of refusing to send their issues to the Guadalajara news agencies. Thus we have been dependent principally on partizan organs for finding out what is going on in the country. However, there are local events and movements which indicate national trends.

* * *

Tension Eased in Church Relations with State

The better relations between church and state are showing noteworthy results to the benefit of both sides. The Catholic boycott of public schools has evidently been dropped, and the local attendance in these is reported to have increased about 40 per cent, notwithstanding a considerable growth of private schools, largely under Catholic auspices. Three years ago the anniversary of the Mexican Revolution was celebrated by an anticlerical socialist education demonstration. This last year it was marked especially by the opening of several new educational centers. Four well-equipped kindergarten plants have been established in different parts of the city, and a large building to accommodate a thousand or more elementary pupils is in course of construction, while other new schools are being projected. The "Institute of Higher studies" has resumed its old name, Guadalajara University, and has taken up its headquarters in a beautiful new building, besides inaugurating a new unit for its medical department. This year the federal government plans to open 2,000 more rural schools over the country. Five thousand rural schools, serving 325,000 children, have been established since President Cardenas took office three years ago.

* * *

Churches and Religious Customs Revive

The confidence produced by the greater liberty accorded the church is seen in the repairs and improvements being made on church buildings. It is striking to see, alongside of the new state university, work going ahead to complete a splendid Catholic church edifice which was started in 1859. One is impressed by the revival and elaboration of local religious festivals. A short time ago I visited one of these in a small pro-

vincial city a hundred miles south of here. The large church was magnificently lighted and decorated; orchestra music of a high quality was provided; while an archbishop, a bishop and many priests from surrounding towns officiated at the crowded services. The plaza in front of the church was filled with the usual amusement and refreshment booths, and there were strolling orchestras, band concerts and gorgeous fireworks.

But the most interesting feature of all was the series of Indian dances presented on different days by groups from several towns, as a fulfillment of vows made to the patron saint. These dances have been regaining much of their old importance, and with their varied and colorful costuming present an attractive spectacle. They have come down from pre-Spanish times, some of them including pageantry representing the Conquest. In the Indians themselves they seem to arouse something of the old racial and tribal pride and a respect for their ancient traditions.

* * *

Pacific Port Has Labor Troubles

A trip to Mazatlan presented some new aspects of the labor movement, and showed how difficult it is to generalize about it for the country as a whole. Mazatlan, a city of 30,000 people, is the principal Mexican port on the Pacific. In the past it has been noted for the easy-going character of its inhabitants, the election of the queen of the annual carnival arousing much more general interest than a political campaign. But Marxist leaders have preached class conflict, with resulting hatred and killings on both sides, and an atmosphere of fear of armed violence on a larger scale.

The strongest union in the city is that of house-renters. Over a year ago they went on strike, refusing for some time to pay rent, as a protest against poor housing and high rents, and protecting each other against eviction. The owners retaliated by refusing to rent vacant property to members of the union or suspected sympathizers. Thus a serious housing problem has arisen which the government is reported to be planning to relieve by a home-building project of its own.

In the midst of these conflicts, two instances of accommodation are worth noting: (1) The owner of a large machine shop, a leader in the local Protestant church, faced with an operating loss because of recent demands, turned his plant over to his employees to be run by them as a cooperative, he and his two sons helping in every way possible to launch it successfully. (2) A four-century-old mine near Mazatlan, unable to meet labor and tax requirements, was about to shut down, but the workers themselves then volunteered a 25 per cent reduction in wages that operations might continue.

* * *

And So Forth

Five short railway lines, totaling nearly 300 miles, are now operated exclusively by members of the National Railway Employees' Union, which organization may eventually administer all the government lines.

After 14 years of outstanding service in Mexico City, the Y.W.C.A. has extended its work for the first time to a provincial center, by establishing a branch in Guadalajara. Miss Sue H. Perry, general secretary of the national organization, is in charge of this new development. CLARENCE A. NEFF.

Churches Pray For Niemöller

Jews and Christians Unite in Petitions For German Churchman—Court Bars Nazi Meeting

(Correspondence from Chicago)

CHICAGO, Feb. 28.—"May He who blessed our fathers, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, bless Pastor Martin Niemöller. We humbly ask that he be guarded from all harm and evil, and that the eyes of his oppressors may be opened." So prayed Rabbi Solomon Goldman, following the ancient ritual, at Temple Anshe Emet on a recent Sabbath. And in this intercession he was joined by the congregations of all the Reformed and Conservative synagogues over a practically continuous 48-hour period. The prayers were offered in response to an appeal by Rabbi George G. Fox, who made his request as president of the Chicago Rabbinical Association. And Christians, too, were praying. A message over the signatures of Dr. Albert W. Palmer, president of the Chicago Church Federation, and Rt. Rev. George Craig Stewart, Episcopal bishop of Chicago, reminded Chicago ministers that "this is a time to pray for freedom of Christian witness and worship." A telegram from New York was quoted: "Secret Niemöller trial profoundly affects Christians as members one of another. Please urge pastors offer prayers for Niemöller and Christian liberty in Germany."

* * *

Combat Anti-Semitism In Chicago

This is a good place to speak about the celebration of Brotherhood day, sponsored locally by the Chicago Round Table of Jews and Christians, and throughout the country by the National Conference of Jews and Christians. Actually the local celebration extended over four days, Friday to Monday, Feb. 18-21. Several local meetings were held, but the chief one was the monthly Round Table luncheon on Feb. 18, presided over by Dean Shailer Mathews and addressed by Judge John P. McGoorty of the superior court, Mr. George B. McKibben, banker, and Mr. Lester N. Selig, president of the Jewish Charities of Chicago. About 200 persons attended. While anti-Semitic influences are, unfortunately, active in Chicago, the Round Table is doing much to reduce the social distance between Jew and Christian as well as between Christians of Protestant and Catholic groups.

* * *

Court Bars Nazis

A nice problem in civil liberties is posed by the issuance in Lake county, Indiana, immediately adjoining Chicago, of a temporary injunction restraining the American Deutscher Volksbund (popularly known as the "Nazi Storm Troopers") from soliciting members or holding meetings. Similar injunctions will be sought in other counties in Indiana and Illinois, Cook county, in which Chicago is situated, probably being next on the list. The injunction was granted on the petition of Attorney Richard S. Kaplan of Gary, who filed his bill as a citizen and a member of the Jewish faith, claiming that the bund "endangers his happiness, good will and reputation."

An organization meeting had been scheduled in which it was feared that there might be rioting and bloodshed; indeed rioting and violence marked a similar nazi meeting in Chicago recently. The Hammond park board had given permission for the meeting to be held in the Hammond municipal auditorium, but withdrew the permission when protests were received from German-American organizations, the American Legion and other groups.

* * *

Relief Problem Looms Again

The "recession" has brought a "new crisis" to the relief situation in Chicago. One hundred thousand families, which represents more persons than live in Atlanta or Indianapolis, are on relief in Cook county. Among them are 160,000 children. Are they pampered? You answer—the average for families on public relief is $357 per year, according to Samuel Goldsmith of the Jewish Charities. Only half rent is paid; consequently there are many evictions. Medical care is tragically inadequate. The tax load involved in carrying so many unemployed is, of course, very heavy. But what to do? "Cut down overhead. Too many social workers in soft jobs," a good many have said. But Governor Horner's recently appointed "Council on Public Assistance," composed mostly of business men, found that the present severe limitation on overhead—a limitation imposed by law—is one of the most uneconomical practices in the present setup. The average case load of a Chicago social worker is 300 families; no worker can efficiently carry such a load. There seems to be no remedy except to find more money somewhere.

* * *

School Board in Hot Water

Judge Grover C. Niemeyer, in superior court, has issued an injunction voiding the eligible list that resulted from the principals' examination held a year ago. Charges that this examination was illegally conducted have been before the court for a long time, but the board of education's lawyers have consistently refused to face the charges and have combated the complaint on technicalities. An appeal has been taken against the injunction and Judge Niemeyer has granted a temporary stay. Friends of the public school system hope that such action may be taken on the appeal as will make it possible to examine the charges in open court. Unless Chicago nostrils are terribly unreliable the present board's administration of the schools smells to high heaven.

* * *

And So Forth

Bishop Stewart, clothed with authority, has ordered any Episcopal churches now indulging in the practice to quit using gambling devices to raise money; and President Albert W. Palmer, of the Chicago Church Federation, while lacking the same authority, has urgently laid the matter upon the consciences of any other Protestant churches that have fallen into the habit.

The Hyde Park-Kenwood churches yesterday closed a month's conference on life and faith, modeled upon and drawing inspiration from the Oxford and Edinburgh Conferences. CHARLES T. HOLMAN.

Council Studies Church Unity

200 Ministers and Laymen at Syracuse Conference—15 Leading Preachers in Lenten Service Program

(Correspondence from Central New York)

SYRACUSE, N. Y., Feb. 25.—More than 200 ministers and laymen, representing 12 denominations, coming from a distance of 100 miles from Syracuse, attended a significant conference on Christian unity, Feb. 14 and 15, sponsored by Hendricks Chapel, Syracuse University, under the leadership of Dean William H. Powers. Plans were inspired by Rev. Lloyd R. Stamp, minister to Methodist students, an associate delegate at Oxford and a visitor at Edinburgh. He defined its objective in this keynote address as "not to look in retrospect on those ecumenical conferences, but to use their reports to guide our thought and action in local situations."

The committee in charge was composed of nine Syracuse ministers: Rev. Alfred P. Coman, president of the Syracuse Council of Churches; Rev. Robert Barkley, Lutheran; Rev. W. W. W. Argow, Unitarian; Rev. Franklin P. Bennett, Episcopalian; Rev. Robert Bruce, Congregationalist; Rev. Wilson G. Cole, Methodist; Rev. Paul H. Hays, Presbyterian; Rev. Luther Wesley Smith, Baptist; and Rev. Egbert M. Hayes, minister to Presbyterian students. These ministers cooperated enthusiastically in setting up the program, and served as co-chairmen of the four seminar groups. The theme of the opening session was "Looking Forward From Oxford and Edinburgh." Dr. Albert W. Beaven of Colgate-Rochester Seminary emphasized that "the reports of these conferences get their meaning not by scintillating differences but by the massive weight of their common Christian conviction on meeting the challenges of totalitarianism, secularism and spiritual ignorance." Dr. Henry S. Leiper, executive secretary of the Universal Christian Council, challenged the delegates to realize that our "Christian religion is totalitarian in its demand of all our loyalties—or it is nothing at all."

* * *

Seminars Consider Problems Of Church and State

The four seminar groups held three discussions on the problems of church and state, church and the economic order, church and education and next steps toward Christian unity. They were capably guided by the expert advice of Prof. John Bennett and Prof. Robert Nichols of Auburn Seminary, Dr. Theodore Walser, missionary to Japan, Dr. Albert W. Beaven and Dr. Henry Leiper, who served as resource leaders. Very active discussion and a frank facing of differences characterized these sessions.

An important meeting attended by 300 laymen considered the problem of "The Church Facing the Future," with Chancellor William P. Graham pointing out some of the historical causes of division, while Mrs. Harper Sibley reminded them that "the message of the church begins with the Fatherhood of God. Consequently the brotherhood of man is not expediency, but

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an inescapable necessity, challenging us to dominate our divisiveness." Dr. Theodore Walser analyzed the rise of totalitarian states, urging that when choice of loyalties came, "we must obey God rather than men."

The conference closed with a luncheon on Tuesday noon. Dr. Leiper outlined some very practical "Next Steps," as a means of relating local churches to the world-wide ecumenical movement. Constructive reports were submitted by the chairmen of seminars and adopted by the group as a whole.

* * *

Syracuse to Hear Leading Preachers

Fifteen of the country's leading churchmen will be speakers during the 19th season of the Syracuse "Civic Lenten Services" which will be held in the Mizpah Auditorium from 12:15 to 12:55 o'clock every Wednesday, Thursday and Friday noon, beginning March 2 and continuing through April 15. Rev. Paul Holden Hays, pastor of the Fourth Presbyterian Church, Syracuse, N. Y., is chairman of the lenten services this year. Following are the speakers who have been selected to be the guest preachers: Boynton Merrill, Henry Hitt Crane, Mordecai Johnson, Bernard C. Clausen, Paul Scherer, Albert Buckner Coe, George A. Buttrick, Halford E. Luccock, Harold Cooke Phillips, John Haynes Holmes, William Hiram Foulkes, James Gordon Gilkey, Albert G. Butzer, Albert W. Beaven and Frederick K. Stamm.

* * *

And So Forth

The Rev. Lawrence Wheaton terminates his services at the Baptist Church, Oneida, N. Y. on March 6, after a pastorate of eight years. He will begin immediately as pastor of the Baptist Church of Manlius, N. Y.

A stimulating "Seminar on Faith and Life" was held at Cazenovia, N. Y., under the direction of Dr. George Irving, Philadelphia. Those who assisted Dr. Irving were: Dr. Otto E. Pieper, Dr. Paul S. Heath and Dr. Charles Turck. Dr. Ray Freeman Jenney, chairman of the Christian Education Committee, Syracuse Presbytery, made the local arrangements. Thirty-one ministers, representing the Cayuga, St. Lawrence, Syracuse and Utica presbyteries, attended the conference.

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TVA Prospects Grow Brighter

Court Decisions and Popular Demand Give Backing—Nashville Gets More Liberal Administration

(Correspondence from the New South)

NASHVILLE, Feb. 20.—The profane have been saying that there are three kinds of TVA dams; viz, those the TVA is building, those the courts built by enjoining the cities from using TVA power, and those the people use when surveying the scene. The TVA dams are being built according to program: Wilson, Wheeler and Norris are operating; Pickwick's reservoir is now filling; Guntersville, Chicamaugua and Hiwasse are progressing according to schedule. The great Gilbertsville dam at the mouth of the Tennessee is under discussion and another between Chattanooga and Knoxville will be built, as will also others on tributary streams to impound flood waters for release in times of low water. When all is done there will be 600 miles of year-round navigable streams from the Ohio to Knoxville, insurance against floods for that 600 miles of river bottom and enough electricity generated as by-product to give light and power to every home, street and industry in the region. Best of all, the rates will be such that the humblest home can afford light, the average farm can afford power, and industries can locate in the small towns and give a living wage to tens of thousands who now live on a submarginal income.

* * *

Court Injunctions Fail

The dams thrown up by court injunctions are now rapidly on the way to dissolution. For three years cities like Knoxville and Chattanooga, where the people voted overwhelmingly for municipal ownership and TVA current, have been denied the execution of their democratic will by injunctions, as have nearly two score smaller towns. The municipalities that had municipally owned plants and most of the rural communities that have organized cooperative distributing systems are enjoying TVA low rates. The result is that several thousand farm homes now have the boon of light and power that means better living, and the progressive towns with municipal plants have much cheaper rates and thus use more current.

The third type of dam is left only to the utilities who curse a government that puts the welfare of the consumer before that of utility monopoly.

* * *

Tennessee's Governor Becomes Friendly

The result of the people's victory in the courts is a landslide in political circles. Governor Browning of Tennessee, who has been charged with being cool to TVA, dramatically announces a plan for the state to charter public ownership corporations that expedite the taking over of all private power concerns and give the entire state cheap TVA power. The "Mayors' Association" of the valley oppose his plan, preferring municipal ownership with rural cooperatives. His political enemies charge him with an astute move to get control both of TVA enthusiasm

and the appraisals of utility properties. In the end his proposal will probably get a fair hearing and may be found preferable to small town and rural units that may leave many rural, scattered and small communities out of power districts.

* * *

Nashville Elects Liberal Mayor

Nashville is the last of the Tennessee cities to join the TVA procession. Hillary House had been its mayor for nearly a quarter of a century. He was a picturesque character, fulfilling the American picture of a poor boy becoming successful in business but eschewing society and remaining a plain man, a personal friend to the humblest. He rode the horses of business and labor by giving to each all he could of what they wanted until the C.I.O. invaded the city. Old and ill he forgot his strategy, alienated even the A. F. of L., kept silent on the TVA and was on the road to undoubted defeat when death called him. The hottest election in many years followed, with the candidate of the business interests appealing to the church folk on a "law and order" platform, and his chief opponent campaigning for a long deferred audit of the city's books, for TVA power, for a straight New Deal administration for labor, and promising a clean-up of the police force as a means to better law enforcement. He won by a large majority.

Mayor Howse was never accused of graft or of taking a penny beyond his salary. But Nashville, proud of its title as the Athens of the South, has been far from a well governed, progressive city. Its school system ranks low among cities of its size; its juvenile court was criticized as inefficient by a competent outside surveyor; few cities tolerate worse housing conditions; its streetcar system is one of the poorest in the land; the people breathe smoke and soot; its automobile accident rate is one of the largest in the land; and the majority of its wage earners are on a low scale of pay. Possessed, at the top, of the highest culture, a church-going city peopled by folk of the finest personal quality, there has been a lag in social and civic interest.

* * *

Nashville's Civic Affairs Look Up

Nashville is not below the average of southern cities in civic progress but it is, as the Athens of the South, above the average in culture; the remissness is in the failure of its culture to become socially minded and to gear into civic affairs. Two of its institutions of higher learning have recently, within the same week, inaugurated new executives. Both are men of progressive temper, socially minded, and will, it is hoped, serve as both symbols and active agents of social progress. The new mayor promises better school equipment and the new superintendent of schools is a pronounced progressive in educational method. The old city administration boasted of one of the lowest tax rates of any city of its size; the test of the new administration may lie in its moral courage not only to audit the city's books, clean out inefficient police and purge the pay rolls, but to defy those interests that demand low taxes, wink at poor collections and look upon city government as an agent of business, by providing the city with the means to promote the welfare of all the people, and most of all "the least of these."

ALVA W. TAYLOR.

Governor Favors Social Program

Virginia Inaugurates James H. Price as 50th Chief Executive—Dr. Knubel Addresses Lutherans

(Correspondence from Virginia)

ROANOKE, Feb. 15.—On Jan. 19 James H. Price was inaugurated governor of Virginia at Richmond, becoming the 50th chief executive to guide the affairs of the Old Dominion. In his inaugural address he reflected a sympathetic appreciation of the problems of the underprivileged and handicapped, recommending legislation to provide for old age assistance, for aid to the blind, for the care of crippled children and for mothers' aid. He advocated the cooperation of Virginia in the several phases of the social security program, urged remedial measures to correct glaring faults in the present antiquated jail system of the state, strongly approved the principle of collective bargaining within the law, and appealed for the protection of women and children in industry. He expressed the conviction that the laboring man is entitled to a fair wage, reasonable hours and decent working conditions. And he suggested the adoption of an eight-hour law for women. His emphasis upon human values rather than material progress is reassuring to those who are vitally interested in the social welfare of the state.

* * *

General Assembly Meets In Colonial Capitol

On Jan. 12 the general assembly of Vir-

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ginia, the oldest democratic legislative body in the world, convened at Richmond. On Feb. 12, continuing its custom of meeting once each session at the colonial capital of the state, the assembly made its biennial pilgrimage to Williamsburg. Here the members met in the restored capitol, which has been described as "the cradle of American democracy." Governor Price added considerable color to the occasion by arriving at the historic statehouse in a horse-drawn coach of colonial days.

Gathered in the chamber of the House of Burgesses, the hall of their legislative ancestors, the lawmakers listened to an address by President Francis Pendleton Gaines of Washington and Lee University on the subject, "Representative Government: A Contrast of Past and Present." Warning that America faces what may prove to be the ultimate test of democracy, Dr. Gaines urged the assembly to fulfill the duty of its heritage—that of providing "a representative government that shall secure the welfare of all citizens and protection of the faculties of every soul." Said he: "Standing where these men struggled for the establishment of representative government, we are soberly mindful of the struggle hardly less desperate for the maintenance of representative government. . . . It is with painful apprehension that thoughtful Americans contemplate the developments of the last quarter of a century."

* * *

Dr. Knubel Addresses Virginia Lutherans

During the last week in January the 109th annual convention of the Lutheran Synod of Virginia was held in Roanoke. Dr. J. J. Scherer, Jr., of Richmond, was reelected president. The principal speaker was Dr. F. H. Knubel, president of the United Lutheran Church in America. An interesting feature of the program was the showing of the sound-movie, "The Thunder of the Sea," a dramatization of the history of the Lutheran church. This picture is to be exhibited to every Lutheran congregation in the United States and Canada this year, as part of the observance of the twentieth anniversary of the United Lutheran Church in America.

* * *

To Restore Muhlenberg Church

The synod approved a proposal providing for the restoration of the famous old Muhlenberg church at Woodstock, Va., named for its pastor, Peter Gabriel Muhlenberg, who was known as "the fighting parson of the Revolution." Here on a certain Sunday morning in 1775 Muhlenberg followed his sermon with the statement: "There is a time to pray and a time to fight, and the time to fight has come." Then dramatically removing his clerical robe he revealed himself in the uniform of a Continental colonel and immediately proceeded to raise 300 recruits among his congregation and organize a regiment. It is planned to make the old log church a national shrine of Lutheranism, in which will be assembled the robe, the communion vessels and other relics associated with the career of the "fighting parson."

* * *

Distinguished Lecturers at Virginia Union Seminary

The annual Sprunt lectures at Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, were held the first week in February. The principal lecturer was Dr. George W. Richards, president of the Reformed Church Seminary at Lancaster, Pa., whose theme was "Creative Controversies in Christianity." Other lecturers were Dr. Samuel L. Joekel, professor of English Bible at Austin Seminary, Austin, Texas, whose subject was "The Gospel of Justification by Faith," and Dr. Luther A. Weigle, dean of the Yale divinity school, who spoke on "Christ and the Educational Method."

* * *

Bishop Tucker Favors Church Unity

Speaking in Norfolk, Rt. Rev. Henry St. George Tucker, presiding bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, declared that the unification of Christian denominations is the true path in which the church might find spiritual supremacy, but that the dream is a long, long way from accomplishment. Said he: "The preliminary work has been done by the Edinburgh Conference last summer, but the chief value of Edinburgh was its success in defining the differences among the divisions of the faith. . . . It will be a long time before the churches can become one organization unit; a long while must elapse before the laity can become accustomed to the idea."

* * *

Bishop Arthur Moore Stays in China

Bishop Arthur J. Moore, now in China, has announced to the Virginia, Western Virginia and Baltimore conferences of the Southern Methodist Church, that he will be unable to preside at the Aldersgate rallies of these conferences scheduled for March. Dr. Moore, who is also bishop of the Orient, states that his absence will be necessitated by his duties of administering relief in war-stricken China. Concerning the terrible plight of refugees in that devastated country he writes: "It would bankrupt the English language to describe the sorrow, suffering, hunger and bitter agony found on every hand."

J. MAURICE TRIMMER.

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Anglicans Will Attend Council

Appoint Delegates to Holland Meeting, But Limit Powers—Attack Political Choice of State Church Bishops

(Correspondence from England)

LONDON, Feb. 15.—The Church Assembly last week gave its consent, though not without some misgivings, to the proposal that the Church of England should be represented at the provisional conference in May at which the constitution of the proposed World Council of Churches is to be considered. This proposal was carefully limited; whatever is decided in Holland at the preliminary conference must come before the Church of England for its approval before that church can be said to take any share of responsibility for the activities of the council.

The Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Chichester commended the proposal. The Bishop of Gloucester did not oppose it, but pointed out the risks and dangers. He believes that there is the greatest danger that such a council might make quasi-political utterances and interfere in political matters. It is, he holds, another piece of machinery, and there is too much machinery already. The Archbishop of Canterbury gave his support to the proposal but both he and Dr. Temple admitted that the dangers to which the Bishop of Gloucester referred were real and would not be forgotten.

It will be remembered that Dr. Headlam, the Bishop of Gloucester, has shown a great concern for Christian reunion. Since the days in which he gave his Bampton lectures he has missed no opportunity to use his wealth of learning and his far-reaching influence in that cause. But he has always distrusted the parallel movement which began with "Copec" and passed into Life and Work, and afterwards into the Oxford Conference on Church, Community and State.

* * *

Attack Political Choice Of Anglican Bishop

Lord Hugh Cecil has criticized the practice by which a prime minister, who is not a member of the Church of England, nominates bishops for that church. Mr. Neville Chamberlain is from a Unitarian family. Other reforms, Lord Hugh added, might follow—for example, the removal of archbishops and bishops from the House of Lords. People are more tolerant and enlightened today; why perpetuate practices from the reign of the Tudors? "If we lived in the reign of King Henry VIII a Unitarian would not be in Downing Street. He would be burned at Smithfield." If we have changed for the better in some matters, why not in this? Thus, in the main, ran Lord Hugh's argument.

I doubt, however, whether there will be any widespread support for this change. There are even some who would rather trust the judgment of a prime minister who is outside the camp. The choice of this bishop rather than that may seriously affect the spiritual life of a diocese. Yet that choice, as things are, is determined by the political tendencies of the time! This plan may work better than seems likely; but it can scarcely be defended by those who believe in the freedom of the church.

* * *

Education and Race in South Africa

A document of first importance has been issued by the Native Affairs Commission in South Africa. It brings serious charges against the education provided by missionaries, first of all as education, and second because of its attitude to the relation of the races. The missionaries are said to be unable or unwilling "to teach the state doctrine of racial discrimination; their teaching has in fact been at all times in conflict with the native policy of the government." It is clear that the quality of education provided by missions is a fitting subject for inquiry. But no one seriously doubts that the second consideration is the one which will weigh most in any legislation which may be designed in South Africa to implement this report.

Sir John Harris, always a vigilant friend of the native peoples, has shown what this report means. Can such a criticism of missions stop at the schools? And can the churches consent to adopt a policy of racial discrimination which is in conflict with the fundamental interpretation of Christian doctrine?

It may be that the government of the union will reject the proposals. But if they were accepted, a situation would arise parallel to that which is faced by the Confessional churches in Germany. It is to be hoped that no such conflict will be provoked; that the civil power will not attempt to tune the teachings of the mission churches and schools to its native policy. There are those who say that the missionary societies should never have accepted aid from government funds.

* * *

'A Tragedy of Incoordination'

The typhoid epidemic in Croyden is over. There were in all nearly 300 cases and 43 deaths. The alarm which it occasioned led to a public inquiry of a searching kind. The report of the inquirer, Mr. Murphy, is now published. In one way it is reassuring; no servant of the borough can be charged with

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the full responsibility for the outbreak. But it is strongly stated that there was a lack of coordination among those responsible, and out of this tragedy good will come if in the other boroughs care is taken to insure better teamwork in the health services, and especially in the case of the water-supply.

* * *

An International People's Assembly

Leaders of progressive organizations from all over the world met in London during the weekend in the "International People's Assembly on Aid for China." At the mass rally at Covent Garden Lord Cecil presided; he condemned Japanese aggression as a deliberate attempt to enforce her will by arms. He declared that it was the purpose of those assembled to stop the war and, if that is not accomplished, to urge citizens of all the countries represented to clear themselves of complicity in this crime. Mr. Herbert Morrison advocated an international police force. Dr. Wellington Koo said the blame for the Manchurian incident and the Abyssinian war and the present war in China was not due to any defect in the League of Nations, but to the unwillingness of the more important members to apply the covenant.

EDWARD SHILLITO.

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Ministers And Theologs Confer

Union Seminary Holds Retreat for Alumni, Faculty and Students—Pacifists Consider Courses of Action

(Correspondence from New York)

NEW YORK, Feb. 28.—Experienced pastors and idealistic theological students conferred on aspects of the church's ministry at the Washington's birthday retreat for the alumni, faculty and students of Union Theological Seminary. Paul Lynn led the group on the "Ministry in Rural Communities." The pastors in the group were concerned chiefly with how to keep the rural church alive; the students with how to relate the church to rural social problems. Morgan P. Noyes led the group on suburban communities. Here too, the students tended to be more critical of the conservative class character of such churches than the pastors. William Lloyd Imes and Phillips P. Elliott led the groups on race relations and the minister's theology. In Mr. Elliott's group the pastors wanted to discuss how to clarify and teach Christian theology and the students wanted to discuss whether to have any theology at all.

Some pastors and students felt that there was such a gap between the two groups in experience and point of view that the conference was not fruitful. But other pastors were glad to be brought again into contact with the high hopes and impatience of the students, and other students welcomed a picture of the practical problems of the pastorate. This generation of students is itself different from that of a few years ago. They do not participate in picket lines with the same self-immolatory abandon. They do not wear red ties, blue shirts and corduroy pants. They do not look upon the church as a mere adjunct to the revolutionary labor movement. They are Christians first and radicals second. They have rediscovered the validity of their own tradition and so give themselves less uncritically to the Marxist tradition. Niebuhr's star is ascendant.

* * *

Union Hears Dr. Mackay

John A. Mackay, president of Princeton Theological Seminary, made his first official visit to Union on this occasion. A crowded auditorium listened to his exposition of man's response to God developed interestingly along the conventional lines of emotion, mind and will. Professor Frame and Dr. Mackay celebrated the holy communion at the concluding service in the evening. Dr. Mackay spoke of the Christian as a pilgrim and not a spectator on the road of life.

* * *

Niebuhr and Dodd Address C.L.I.D.

Reinhold Niebuhr thrilled the annual meeting of the Church League for Industrial Democracy at St. George's Church, attended by 250 members and friends. He spoke on the dilemmas the church faces in its concern for Christian social action. One advantage of his swift and brilliant paradoxes that threw his hearers who were

following attentively into breathless zigzags like hounds pursuing a hare was the fact that each hearer, whatever his views, could find at least one side of a paradox that he agreed with. That made him more ready to give ear to the other side.

Former Ambassador William E. Dodd spoke at the jammed luncheon the next day on the origin of German nazism in the failure of the democracies to deal justly with the German republic and on the necessity of the democracies to stand together now against the monster they had helped to create. Stanley Matthews of Cincinnati was presented as the new field secretary of the C.L.I.D.

* * *

Pacifists Consider Action In Event of War

A conference for pacifists was held on Washington's birthday at Labor Temple, attended by members of the War Resisters League, the New History Society (Bahaist), Pax Group (Roman Catholic), Women's Peace Union, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Fellowship of Reconciliation and many church groups. After F. J. Libby of the National Council for the Prevention of War had outlined the apparent determination of the Roosevelt administration to try to reestablish respect for American diplomacy by brandishing the big stick in the Far East, the conference discussed how to keep the country out of war and then what to do if war comes. Most of the conferees felt pacifists should refuse to register for the draft rather than to register but refuse service when drafted. Most felt that alternative service in works of mercy not under government control, such as the Friends work in the last war, might be accepted by pacifists. A committee was appointed to offer further counsel on this difficult question. Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein of Rochester and Prof. S. Ralph Harlow of Smith College spoke in the evening of personal war experiences. Mr. William Callahan of the *Catholic Worker* summarized the necessary conditions for a just war according to Catholic teaching. Modern war, he said, cannot fulfil those conditions.

* * *

And So Forth

The army recruiting officers are trying to get from the WPA lists of able bodied men of proper age to offer them enlistments in the army with at least the suggestion, according to Col. Magruder of this area, that they will be dropped from the WPA if they refuse.

Mr. Hearst's *Journal-American* sent telegrams to a large number of ministers last Sunday morning asking them to support in their sermons Bishop Manning's attack on the "reds" printed the same day in four columns of the *Journal-American*. It telephoned them Sunday night for report of any comment they had made. Today's *Times* sermon page fails to show any response to this last minute appeal.

BRADFORD YOUNG.

Lincoln Cathedral Choir To Broadcast

Announcement has been made that the Lincoln Cathedral Choir of Lincoln, Neb., will be heard over the Columbia network in a series of six broadcasts under the title, "Whither Youth?" The singers are students of the University of Nebraska.

The New Films

These summaries and evaluations are supplied by the National Film Estimate Service. Estimates are for three groups: A. intelligent adults; Y, youth (15-20 years); C, children (under 15 years).

Baroness and the Butler

(Powell, Annabella, Stephenson) (Fox) Granting highly improbable situation of a butler being his master's parliamentary opponent—here is choice entertainment in deft acting of four fine roles, good dialog, and smooth unfolding of comedy-romance in Hungarian high life.

For A, and Y: Very good. For C: Mature.

Big Broadcast of 1938

(Fields, Raye, Lamour) (Para) Transatlantic race between superliners is thin plot padded out with vaudeville. Lavish sets, trick photography, animation sequence, incessant music, dancing, sexy "lyrics" and noise. Much occupation for eye and ear, none for mind. Laughs for the many.

For A: Depends on taste. For Y, and C: Mostly amusing.

Crashing Hollywood

(Lee Tracy, Joan Woodbury) (RKO) Loud and lively fun for the uncritical. Thriller-farce about breezy writer-hero, crashing movies with absurd ease, unwittingly writing a gangster character identical with living gangster, when real trouble starts. "Chase" climax.

For A: Hardly. For Y: Perhaps. For C: No.

Look Out For Love

(Anna Neagle, Tullio Carminati) (G B) Humble heroine misunderstands motives of rich benefactor until he deliberately ruins his career for her sake. Weak story, clumsily told, dull dialog, and poorly acted save for the two leading roles. Waste of Anne Neagle.

For A: Mediocre. For Y: No. For C. No.

High Flyers

(Wheeler-Woolsey, Lupe Velez) (RKO) Crazy farce with Wheeler and Woolsey as country-fair fakers who blunder into a jewel-thieving plot. Engaging little dog plays large role in solution. Usual sure-fire hokum, idiotic gags, and a minimum of vulgarity for a change.

For A: Absurd. For Y, and C: Probably amusing.

No Time to Marry

(Richard Arlen, Mary Astor) (Col) Fast, ridiculous nonsense about two reporters whose wedding plans are complicated by assignments to obtain pair of goats and find a run-away heiress. The proceedings fail to make much sense, but are amusing for those who laugh easily.

For A: Hardly. For Y, and C: Probably amusing.

The Wave

(Mexican cast and dialog) (Garrison) Artistic, impressive presentation of Mexican fishermen's life—starvation wages, grafting bosses, "labor union" solution, with wonderful shots of fishing. Pictorial narrative, in proper tempo, little dialog and title needed. Film of dignity and appeal.

For A: Notable. For Y: Mature. For C: Beyond them.

Yank at Oxford

(Taylor, O'Sullivan, and British cast) (MGM) Smartaleck American hero airs conceit at rather movie-ized Oxford, gets deftly razzed, but triumphs at last. Mutual concessions and cheap vamp supposedly bring mutual understanding. Amusing, but some painful moments for the intelligent.

For A, Y, and C: Amusing, but doubtful effect on young minds.

Best Films for Adults

Tovarich	Of Human Hearts
Hurricane	Stage Door
In Old Chicago	You're Only Young Once

Best Family Films

Love and Hisses	Snow White
45 Fathers	Goldwyn Follies
Borneo	Gold is Where You Find It

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